

# **THE PSEUDO-OECUMENIAN CATENA ON GALATIANS**

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## ABSTRACT

New Testament catena manuscripts contain both the biblical text and a form of commentary which is a compilation of extracts from the Church Fathers. Several catenae on the Pauline Epistles were compiled between the sixth and twelfth centuries. The oldest and most important is the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena, attributed to Oecumenius. The fullest previous study of this, by Karl Staab in 1926, grouped manuscripts of this catena into five types.

The present study examines a wider range of manuscripts than Staab in order to reach a new understanding of the Pseudo-Oecumenian tradition. Subgroupings within the main types, and connections between exemplars and copies, are identified using palaeography and both classical and digital philology. The first-ever critical edition of a secondary type of Pseudo-Oecumenian catena on Galatians is presented, along with two previously-unknown extracts which could be part of the Scholia Photiana. Most significantly, the thesis shows that by removing two later sets of additions, the Scholia Photiana and the Corpus Extravagantium, a single original form of the catena on Galatians (the Urkatena) can be established. Supplemented with the first stage of the *Corpus Extravagantium* and dating from the eighth century onwards, this form also underlies the Typus Vaticanus catena, and is preserved in two surviving manuscripts (GA 075 and GA 1980).

Στην Σοφία και τον Θανάση

“Πάντα μὲν γὰρ μεταβάλλεται, ἀπόλλυται δὲ οὐδέν”

Maximos Planoudes

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## 1. Introduction

The catenae in general, and those of the Pauline epistles more specifically, provide a challenging field of research. Regarding the catenae on the Pauline epistles, in particular, there is no thorough examination of the manuscript tradition and the patristic material that is preserved in them. Furthermore, their biblical quotations have not been taken into consideration when reconstructing the textual history of the New Testament. Part of the problem is the volume of material and the complex interrelationship between biblical text and commentary as well as different types of catena. Catenae also have their own exegetical value and should be regarded as part of the history of interpretation of the biblical text, although scholarship has not focused on the criteria that their compilers applied when gathering their material or on the major exegetical trends that they may represent. Concerning the latter, Lamb notes: “They were compiled from a variety of different sources and so they provide not only some insight into the commentaries that were *written* in late antiquity but, more significantly, an indication of the commentaries which were actually *read*.”<sup>1</sup> Pauline catenae have not been studied for a long time and there has been no systematic study either of the catenae themselves or of the biblical text they contain. Its study and edition remains a fascinating research task.

My overall goal is to collect biblical textual data from early Christian commentaries on the Pauline epistles and analyse them based on internal and external

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<sup>1</sup>Lamb, W., *The Catena in Marcum: A Byzantine Anthology of Early Commentary on Mark*, Texts and Editions for New Testament Study 6, Leiden: Brill, 2012, p. 21.

factors. This will reconstruct a possible line of tradition that goes back several centuries and assist in establishing the authenticity of the Pauline catenae that are attributed to each author in the manuscript tradition and understanding an author's compilation technique. Another aim is to identify the patristic evidence, examine compilers' possible trends or preferences, analyse the possible patterns of biblical quotation and their value and detect and identify the anonymous patristic quotations in these catenae. This will provide information about the target group of these compilations as well as their ideological and exegetical context. I will also produce a critical edition of an unpublished Pauline catena for the Epistle to the Galatians. Using modern digital scholarship. I anticipate that the final results of my research will have an important impact on the scientific community, on the perception of New Testament and its ancient exegesis today and may even lead to the recovery of otherwise lost texts preserved in these witnesses.

### 1.1 Introduction to the term *catena*

Biblical catenae are manuscripts that contain the biblical text and a kind of commentary, which consists of patristic quotations forming a kind of exegetical chain (catena in Latin). They emerged at the beginning of the sixth century. One of the most complete definitions is given by Sloane in the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*:

“Biblical catenae (from catena, chain; fuller name *catenae patrum*) are commentaries made up of short excerpts from the Fathers or other ancient writers strung together like the links of a chain to form a continuous exposition of a passage of Scripture. The first use of the name catena in this sense appears

to be in the *editio princeps* of the *Catena Aurea* of St. Thomas Aquinas, although he himself had described this work as an *expositio continua* of the four Gospels. Among earlier names were exegetical eclogues, collected explanations, and simply interpretations. Some catenae are drawn from one Father exclusively; others from two or three, with an evident attempt to give equal place to the Antiochene and Alexandrian schools of exegesis; still others are based on as many as 80 or more sources. In the better catenae each excerpt is introduced by the name of the commentator or by an identifying abbreviation. Where this is not the case, some excerpts can only be tentatively ascribed to a given Father or be left as of unknown authorship. As this suggests, much research remains to be done in this field. In typical appearance the manuscript has either only relatively few words of text in large letters in the center of the page surrounded by abundant commentary, or the text is immediately followed by the commentary written in parallel columns. There are Greek, Latin and Eastern (mostly Syriac) catenae”.<sup>2</sup>

Greek manuscripts themselves do not offer an equivalent term for catena. The word *σειρά* is not older than the end of the Byzantine era, while the literal translation *ἀλύσεις* is rarely used.<sup>3</sup> In cases where a title is given the typical one is “τῶν εἰς ... (e.g. τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους Παύλου ἐπιστολὴν) ἐξηγητικῶν ἐκλογῶν συναγωγὴ” [Collection of exegetical extracts on (e.g. *Romans*, or more generally on this or that Bible book)] or

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<sup>2</sup> Sloane, C. O’C., ‘Catenae Biblical’ in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, v. 3, pp. 244-246, New York 1967. See also Mühlenberg (TRE reference), which is described by Kannengiesser as ‘indispensable’.

<sup>3</sup> Devreesse, R., ‘Chaines exégétiques grecques’ in *Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément* (sous la direction de Louis Pirot) Fasc.iii-iv (Paris, 1928), coll. 1084-1233, more specifically col. 1087.

“συναγωγή ἐξηγήσεων ἀπὸ διαφόρων πατέρων καὶ διδασκάλων εἰς...” [Collection of interpretations/exegeses of the Holy Fathers and teachers on...].<sup>4</sup> As noted by Sloane, the use of *catena* derives from the biography of Aquinas written by his pupil Wilhelm von Tocco in 1320. Although French scholarship uses the translation *chaînes* and German literature borrows the original as *Katenen*, the Latin term *catena* has become the standard term.<sup>5</sup>

Over the last fifty years, considerable work has been done on biblical catenae, including Mühlenberg’s three volume work on Catenae on the Psalms,<sup>6</sup> Dorival’s further work on the Psalms, Reuss’ on Gospels and Lamb’s edition of the Catena in Marcum. Dorival observes that research into catenae tends to take place by focussing on individual biblical books: “Il n’existe pas aujourd’hui de spécialistes des chaînes; il existe seulement des spécialistes des chaînes sur la *Genèse* et l’*Exode*, des spécialistes des chaînes sur les *Psaumes*, des spécialistes des chaînes sur les *Proverbes*, et ainsi de suite”.<sup>7</sup> The goal of

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<sup>4</sup> see Mühlenberg, E., “Katenen”, in *Theologische Realencyclopädie* 18, Berlin – New York : Walter de Gruyter, 1989, p.16.”

<sup>5</sup> Mühlenberg, “Katenen”, 1989, p.16

<sup>6</sup> Mühlenberg, E., *Psalmekommentare aus der Katenenüberlieferung, Bd. 1-2: Didymus der Blinde u. Apollinaris von Laodicea (editio + apparatus crit.). Bd. 3: Untersuchungen zu den Psalmekatenen.* Patristische Texte und Studien, vols. 15, 16, 19, Berlin: De Gruyter, 1975-1978.

<sup>7</sup> Dorival, G., *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les psaumes. Contribution à l’étude d’une forme littéraire*, t. 1 [Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense Etudés et Documents Fasc. 43], Leuven 1986, p. viii. An English translation of the phrase can be found in Kannengiesser, C., ed., *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: The Bible in Ancient Christianity*, Leiden: Brill, 2006, p. 978, “Currently there are no specialists of *catenae*, but only specialists of the *catenae* on Psalms or specialists of the *catenae* on Proverbs and so forth”. Parker agrees with this statement, too, see Parker, D. C., *Textual Scholarship and the Making of the New Testament*, Oxford, 2011.

the present research is to examine the catena manuscripts of the Pauline Epistles, both as witnesses to the biblical text and to the history of commentary.

## 1.2 A chronology of catenae

The earliest known catena is on Luke, Codex Zacynthius (Ξ).<sup>8</sup> The manuscript that in 1821 was brought from the Greek island Zakynthos to England is now in Cambridge, at the University Library, Add. 10062 (GA 040). Parker and Birdsall date it to the seventh century, while Metzger believes that it is a catena of the seventh or eighth century.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, other researchers support the possibility of a sixth-century date and there are handbooks that repeat this dating, e.g. Kannengiesser among others.<sup>10</sup> More recently Makris, in a presentation at the European Association of Biblical Studies annual meeting in Cordoba (Spain) in 2015, tried to prove that this manuscript was in fact written in the middle of the tenth century, comparing the codex with a couple of other manuscripts

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<sup>8</sup> Tragelless, S., *Codex Zacynthius Ξ – Greek Palimpsest Fragments of the Gospel of Saint Luke*, London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1861.

<sup>9</sup> Birdsall, J. Neville, and Parker, D. C., “The Date of the Codex Zacynthius (Ξ): A New Proposal”, *Journal of Theological Studies* 55, Oxford 2004, p. 121. Metzger, B. M., *The text of the New Testament: Its transmission, corruption and restoration*,<sup>3</sup>1992, p. 27. See also Greenlee, J. H., “The Catena of Codex Zacynthius,” *Biblica* 40 (1959), pp. 992–1001.

<sup>10</sup> Kannengiesser, C., ed., *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: The Bible in Ancient Christianity*, Leiden: Brill, 2006, p. 979.

claiming that they were written by the same scribe at the same place at about 950.<sup>11</sup> Although this has not yet been published, Karin Metzler, too, in a recent publication is aware of Makris' attempt to date the genre of catena much later.<sup>12</sup>

Continuing with Codex Zacynthius itself, it should be said that this manuscript is also unique because both biblical text and catena are written with uncial letters, the only difference between the two types of text being the size of the letters. At least four manuscripts written in uncial characters are a witness to the existence of catenae in the sixth and seventh centuries: cod. Zacynthius (Ξ) (possibly 6th C), cod. Patmius 171 (7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> C.), cod. Vat. Gr. 749 (9<sup>th</sup> C), cod. Taur. B I 10 (8<sup>th</sup> C).<sup>13</sup>

One of the major researchers on catenae, Dorival, locates the first appearance of the genre of catenae in the sixth century for different reasons. Dorival believes that the father of catenae was Procopius of Gaza, who lived at the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the sixth.<sup>14</sup> Procopius' theological writings consist of commentaries on Old Testament books, which are the earliest examples of the catena form. The manuscripts

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<sup>11</sup> Makris, G., "The Date of Codex Zacynthius: Questioning the Theories on the Invention of the Biblical Catenas", at the session *Biblical Philology in Byzantine Manuscripts* of the European Association of Biblical Studies annual meeting in Cordoba, Spain, 12–15 July 2015.

<sup>12</sup> The pre-publication form was ready in 2015, but it hasn't appeared yet. See, Metzler, K. (transl. and commented) *Prokop von Gaza. Der Genesiskommentar. Aus den "Eclogarum in libros historicos Veteris Testamenti epitome"*, [Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte, neue Folge 23], Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016, pp. XXXI–XXXIII.

<sup>13</sup> Dates from Kannengiesser, C., ed., *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: The Bible in Ancient Christianity*, Leiden: Brill, 2006, p. 979.

<sup>14</sup> Dorival, G., *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les psaumes. Contribution à l'étude d'une forme littéraire* 1. In *Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaneniense Etudés et Documents* Fasc. 43, Leuven 1986, p. 23.



themselves offer three indications of the date of the compositions. Firstly, there is the superscription of the catena, that usually attributes the work to a writer, whose dates are known. Secondly, the catena is necessarily written after the latest author it cites, which may be considered as a *terminus a quo*. Thirdly, of course, the catena is earlier than the earliest surviving manuscript. Finally, there are other historical reasons associated with the appearance or disappearance of catenae, like heretical controversies or the Arabic conquest in Palestine and the resurgence of the genre later on in the eighth century in Constantinople.

The catenists can be found also under the title of compilers or commentators.<sup>15</sup> They continue a long tradition of commentaries on the text of Paul that started when Origen wrote in the third century and continued with John Chrysostom, whose homilies cover all fourteen Pauline epistles, and Theodoret of Cyr. Oecumenius is supposed to have compiled a catena on Pauline Letters. Until the dawn of the twentieth century, scholars accepted the identification of Oecumenius as the bishop of Tricca in Thessaly, who lived in the tenth or even in the eleventh century. At the session of the Academy of Sciences of Berlin that took place on October 31<sup>st</sup> 1901, Diekamp announced that Oecumenius in fact lived around the year 600.<sup>16</sup> He appeared to be a monophysite writer from the group of Severus of Antioch, with whom he corresponded. This followed the discovery of a full commentary by Oecumenius on Revelation in a manuscript in Messina (Italy) and an additional examination of two more fragmentary manuscripts. Through this

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<sup>15</sup> Parker, D. C., *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and their Texts*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, pp. 267-8.

<sup>16</sup> Also Parker seems to agree with this date, see Parker, *An Introduction*, pp. 238, 267.

correspondence we learn that Oecumenius in fact was married, he was an aristocrat, he had the title of the “κόμη” (nominative, κόμης) and therefore not only he was a layman and not a bishop, but also he never lived in Thessaly, in Tricca, but in Asia Minor, more especially in the area called Isauria. Hence, he should not be confused with the bishop of Tricca that lived in the tenth century in Thessaly. Furthermore, this Oecumenius preceded Andreas of Caesarea: Oecumenius’ commentary on Revelation was therefore written before that of Andreas. In Diekamp’s opinion, Andreas had merely imitated Oecumenius. This announcement was published afterwards under the title “*Mitteilungen über den neuaufgefundenen Commentar des Oekumenius zur Apocalypse*”<sup>17</sup> and changed everything previously known about Oecumenius. About a century later, in 2006, Suggit published a translation of the commentary on the Apocalypse written by Oecumenius.<sup>18</sup> According to this discovery and theory, then, Oecumenius succeeded Theodoret and was followed by John of Damascus. John of Damascus wrote a commentary on the fourteen letters of Paul in the early eighth century. However, all the extracts I have so far encountered which might belong to John of Damascus are identical to Chrysostom: this probably means that Damascus used Chrysostom. The next catenist, in chronological order, is Theophylact, Archbishop of Ohrid or else of Bulgaria (11<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> centuries), but his commentary is based upon earlier writings,<sup>19</sup> especially those of Chrysostom. Next comes Nicetas of Heraclea or else of Serrae, who at first was a deacon of the Church of

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<sup>17</sup> See, Diekamp, F., “*Mitteilungen über den neuaufgefundenen Kommentar des Oekumenius zur Apocalypse*”, in the *Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Academie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin (Phil.-Hist. Klasse)* 43 (1901), pp. 1046–1056.

<sup>18</sup> *Oecumenius, Commentary on the Apocalypse*, translated by John Suggit, Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2006.

<sup>19</sup> Parker, D. C., *An Introduction*, p. 268.

St. Sophia in Constantinople and then became Metropolitan of Heraclea. Nicetas compiled biblical catenae on the Psalms, on the Pauline epistles and finally on the gospels. It has been assumed by Clark, who worked with the catena on John, that this is also the chronological order of his compilations reflecting the different stages of his career in hierarchy and as teacher in Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (first διδάσκαλος τοῦ ψαλτῆρος, then διδάσκαλος του ἀποστόλου and finally διδάσκαλος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου).<sup>20</sup> Regarding the Pauline catenae Nicetas wrote a catena on Hebrews only during the eleventh century, but there are manuscripts with catena on all the Pauline epistles that bear his name in the title. Last in this sequence comes Euthymius Zigabenus, a monk who flourished in the twelfth century and was very close to the Byzantine emperor Alexius I Comnenus. He was favoured also by the emperor's daughter, Anna Comnena, who refers in her work *Alexiad* to Zigabenus' learning and piety. Zigabenus and Alexius I Comnenus tried to repress the dualistic Bogomil sect, a heresy holding the coexistence with God of a principle of evil that participated in creation. Emperor Alexius commissioned Zigabenus to write a comprehensive work against heresies, with the title *Πανοπλία δογματική τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως* (The doctrinal armoury of the orthodox faith).

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<sup>20</sup> Clark, M. A., *The Catena of Nicetas of Heraclea and its Johannine text*, PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2016. See also Bekker, I., *Codini Curopalatae de Officialibus Palate Constantinopolitani et de Officiis Magnae Ecclesiae Liber*, Bonn: Weber, 1839, pp. 15–16.

### 1.3 The beginnings of scholarly research on catenae

As noted above, the study and use of the term catenae may be said to begin with Thomas Aquinas' *Catena Aurea* of 1470.<sup>21</sup> In 1532 Bernardus Donatus published in a single volume the Oecumenian catenae on Acts, the Pauline Epistles and the Catholic Letters together with Arethas' catena on Revelation. This relied on a Greek manuscript provided to him for the purpose of publication by Gibertus, Bishop of Verona during the papacy of Clement VII.<sup>22</sup> Later sixteenth-century editions focussed on translations of catenae from Greek into Latin, which continued up to the eighteenth century. Aloysius Lippomani (1500-1559), one of the presidents of the Council of Trent, gives one more reason for this revival of catenae: to confront the heretics who claim biblical Hebrew and Greek passages in support of their arguments; there is no better way to refute this than by the catenae that contained ready answers of the Fathers of the Church for every biblical passage.<sup>23</sup> However, we should bear in mind that catenae were not used in the same way as the *Adversus Haereses* by Irenaeus of Lyons in the early third century. In the

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<sup>21</sup> The *edition princeps* was edited by Cardinal Giovanni Andrea de' Bussi and printed in Rome in 1470 in two volumes. See Pelican, Y., Hotchkiss, V. R., and Price, D., *The Reformation of the Bible: The Bible of the Reformation*, Yale University Press 1996, p. 25 and 118. St. Thomas Aquinas himself described his work as an *expositio continua* of the four Gospels; the word *catena* came from the biography of Thomas written by his pupil Wilhelm von Tocco in 1320. See, Mühlenberg, E., "Katenen", in *Theologische Realencyclopädie* 18, Berlin – New York : Walter de Gruyter, 1989, p. 16; But also Wachtel, K., "Katenen", in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, v. 5, Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1996, coll. 1326–7.

<sup>22</sup> Donatus, B., (ed.) *Expositiones antiquae ex diversis sanctorum partum commentariis ab Oecumenio et Aretha collectae in hosce Novi Testamenti tractatus. Oecumenii quidem in Acta Apostolorum. In septem Epistolas quae Catholicae dicuntur. In Pauli omnes. Arethae vero in Ioannis Apocalypsim. (cum textibus. Edidit Donatus Veronensis)*, Verona: Apud Staphanum & fratres Sabios, 1532, f. 3v.

<sup>23</sup> Mühlenberg, E., "Katenen", in *Theologische Realencyclopädie* 18, Berlin – New York : Walter de Gruyter, 1989, p. 16; Wachtel, K., "Katenen", in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, v. 5, Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1996, coll. 1326–7.

seventeenth century the Belgian Jesuit Balthasar Corderius not only edited manuscripts of Greek catenae, but he also translated into Latin collections of patristic excerpts on John and Luke.<sup>24</sup> About forty years later, in 1672, Petrus Possinus edited a catena on Mark.<sup>25</sup>

In the meantime, catenae became the subjects of a different type of interest. Researchers like François Combefis<sup>26</sup> and Bernard de Montfaucon<sup>27</sup> were looking for unedited evidence for early Christian authors, which might be preserved in the manuscripts of catenae. For a long time, however, there was scepticism about the authenticity and validity of the writers that were quoted. Other scholars of the same period believed in the literary value of catenae and prepared the ground for an individual chapter on catenae in the history of literature. Gottlieb Christoph Harles revised and continued J. A. Fabricius' most important work, *Bibliotheca Graeca*. Harles wrote a whole chapter at the end of the eighth volume of this huge work giving additional information about the manuscripts and the authors cited in catenae.<sup>28</sup> In 1762 Nösselt published a small treatise

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<sup>24</sup> Corderius, B., *Catena sexaginta quinque graecorum patrum in S. Lucam, quae quatuor simul Evangelistarum introducit explicationem; luce ac latinitate donata, et ex alijs patribus tam Graecis quam Latinis suppleta et annotationibus illustrate*, Antwerp: Ex officina Plantiniana, 1628; Corderius, B., *Catena Patrum graecorum in sanctum Joannem, ex antiquissimo graeco codice Ms. nunc primum in lucem edita et auspiciatissimi Hungariae et Bohemiae regis nuptiis consecrate*, Antwerp: Ex officina Plantiniana, 1630.

<sup>25</sup> Possinus, P., *Catena graecorum Patrum in evangelium secundum Marcum couectore atque interprete Petro Possino Soc. Iesu presbytero qui et adiecit, titulo spicilegii commentarium, ad loca selecta quatuor evangeliorum: accessere collationes graeci contextus omnium librorum novi Testamenti cum XXII codd. antiquis mss. ex bibliotheca Barberina*. Rome: Typis Barberinis, 1672.

<sup>26</sup> Combefis, F., *Novum Auctarium Graeco-Latinae Bibliothecae Patrum*, Paris 1648.

<sup>27</sup> Montfaucon, B. de, *Analecta graeca, sive varia opuscula graeca inedita*, Paris, 1688; idem. *Collectio nova patrum graecorum*, 2 vols., Paris, 1706- 1707.

<sup>28</sup> Fabricius, J. A., *Bibliotheca graeca; sive, Notitia scriptorium veterum graecorum quorumcumque monumenta integra aut fragmenta edita exstant, tum plerorumque e MSS. ac deperditis ab auctore tertium*

of forty-eight pages with the significant title “*De Catenis Patrum graecorum In Novum Testamentum Observationes*”.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, Nösselt tried to cover the subject for all the parts of the New Testament and for all the compilers. A few years later, Matthäi published catenae on Gospels from Muscovite manuscripts that were accessible to him (1774-1782).<sup>30</sup> Finally, Cramer published catenae on all of the New Testament books (Oxford 1838-1844).<sup>31</sup> At almost the same period as Cramer, another publication appeared in Greece, but remained in obscurity. Theoklitos Farmakidis published seven volumes of catenae on all books of the New Testament (Athens, 1842–1845).<sup>32</sup>

However, another interesting practice should also be mentioned, a radical experiment undertaken by a single Greek monk. In 1806 Nikodemus the Hagiorite (of Mount Athos, or of Naxos), published intralingual translations of catena texts. This

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*recognita et plurimis locis aucta edition quarta variorum curis emendatior atque auctior*, t. 8, edited by Gottlieb Cristophoro Harles, Hamburg, 1802, pp. 637-700.

<sup>29</sup> Nösselt, I. A., *De Catenis Patrum graecorum In Novum Testamentum Observationes*, Halae ad Salam: Stanno Hendeliano, 1762.

<sup>30</sup> Matthäi, C. F., *Novum Testamentum XII tomis distinctum Graece et Latine. Textum denuo recensuit, varias lectiones numquam antea vulgatas ex centum codicibus mss. variarum bibliothecarum, Mosquensium, Pultaviensis, Dresdensis, Lipsiensis, Goettingensis et suae summa diligentia et fide collegit et vulgavit, lectionaria ecclesiae Graecae primo accurate evoluit, singulasque lectiones sedulo indicavit, plerorumque codicum specimina aere expressa exhibuit, primorum editorum ... sententias examinavit, editiones etiam alias, ut complutensium, Erasmi, Bezae, Stephani, Mastrichtii, atque adeo Griesbachii Halensem ... inspexit, scholia Graeca maximam partem inedita addidit, commentarios Graecos, cum editos, tum ineditos consuluit et notavit, patrum Graec. et Latin. lectiones notabiliores memoravit, animadversiones criticas adiecit et edidit Christianus Fridericus Matthaei. Cum tabulis aeneis XXIX*, Riga: Hartknoch, 1782-1788.

<sup>31</sup> Cramer, J. A., *Catenae Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum*, 8 vols, Oxford, 1837-1844.

<sup>32</sup> Φαρμακίδης, Θ., *Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη μετὰ Ὑπομνημάτων Ἀρχαίων*, 7 vols, Αθήνα: Νικόλαος Αγγελίδης, 1842–1845.

brought together the old practice of paraphrase with the new perspective of bringing the writings of the Church Fathers closer to less well-educated people in modern Greek: he not only gathered the extracts for his compilation, but also translated them into a simpler form of the Greek language. His translations of the Catholic<sup>33</sup> and the Pauline letters<sup>34</sup> were published in 1806 and 1819 respectively. They were largely based on Theophylact, but Nikodemus also provided personal notes or references not only to Greek sources but also Latin Church Fathers (e.g. Augustine, see for example in v. 2 on p. 155).

With regard to the Pauline Epistles in particular, the first printed catena on the epistles, as noted above, was published in 1532 at Verona by Bernardus Donatus. It is a catena known by the name of (Ps-) Oecumenius,<sup>35</sup> patterned after the Catena Aurea of Thomas Aquinas.<sup>36</sup> Donatus' work was re-edited by Morellus and translated into Latin by

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<sup>33</sup> Νικόδημου Ἀγιορείτου, Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὰς ἑπτὰ Καθολικὰς ἐπιστολὰς τῶν Ἁγίων καὶ Πανευφύμων Ἀποστόλων Ἰακώβου, Πέτρου, Ἰωάννου, καὶ Ἰούδα, ἥτις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐν μοναχοῖς ἐλαχίστου Νικοδήμου Ἀγιορείτου ἐκ διαφόρων συνερανισθεῖσα, Venice: Τύποις Πάνου Θεοδοσίου τοῦ ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων, 1806.

<sup>34</sup> Νικόδημου Ἀγιορείτου, Παύλου τοῦ Θείου καὶ ἐνδόξου αἱ ἸΔ' ἐπιστολαὶ ἐρμηνευθεῖσαι μὲν ἑλληνιστὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ μακαρίου Θεοφυλάκτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Βουλγαρίας, μεταφρασθεῖσαι δὲ εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς κοινωτέραν διάλεκτον, καὶ σημειώμασι διαφόροις καταγλαῖσθεῖσαι, παρὰ τοῦ ἐν μακαρίᾳ τῇ λήξει γενομένου Νικοδήμου Ἀγιορείτου, v. 1 Τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους καὶ τὴν πρὸς Κορινθίους Πρώτην περιέχων, ᾧτινι προσετέθησαν εἰς Κανὼν Παρακλητικὸς εἰς τοὺς IB' Ἀποστόλους, καὶ Οἴκοι ΚΔ' εἰς τοὺς Κορυφαίους Πέτρον καὶ Παῦλον, φιλοπονηθέντες παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Μεταφραστοῦ, v. 2 Τὴν πρὸς Κορινθίους Δευτέραν, τὴν πρὸς Γαλάτας, τὴν πρὸς Ἐφεσίους, τὴν πρὸς Φιλιπησίους, καὶ τὴν πρὸς Κολοσσαεῖς περιέχων, Venice: Νικόλαος Γλυκὺς, 1819.

<sup>35</sup> Turner says Oecumenius, Mühlenberg says (Ps[eudo]) Oecumenius. See respectively Turner, C. H., "Greek Patristic Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles", in *A Dictionary of the Bible*, edited by J. Hastings, New York: Charles Scribner's sons, 1905, pp. 484-531; Mühlenberg, E., "Katenen", in *Theologische Realencyclopädie* 18, Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1989, p.16.

<sup>36</sup> Mühlenberg, E., "Katenen", in *Theologische Realencyclopädie* 18, Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1989, p.16

Hentenius in 1631<sup>37</sup> and this is the edition that was reproduced by Migne in 1893 as volume 118 of the series *Patrologia Graeca*.

In 1636 in London, Augustine Lindsell, bishop of Hereford, published for the first time Theophylact's catena on the Epistles of the Apostle Paul. In the preface of Lindsell's edition, addressed by T. Baily to Archbishop Laud, it is said the commentaries were copied out from a "very old codex" (*codex vetustus*) of the Earl of Arundel.<sup>38</sup> This was probably Thomas Howard, 21<sup>st</sup> Earl of Arundel, whose collection was divided in 1666 by his grandson Henry Howard between the Royal Society and the College of Arms; the former portion was sold to the British Museum in 1831 and now forms the Arundel Manuscript collection within the British Library. So, this "very old codex" must be *Arundel 534* (GA 1961). In 1738, Giovanni Lami from Italy published in his multivolume work "Deliciae Eruditorum" a specimen of a Florence manuscript (Bibliotheca Mediceae Laurenziana, Plutei IX. 10), which contained 1 Corinthians 1-8. Its title names Nicetas of Heraclea as the author of this catena. Turner in his article noticed that "the relation between the two catenae of Oecumenius and Nicetas is exceedingly close", that the Florence catena ascribed to Nicetas "simply represents one of the numerous subdivisions of the Oecumenian tradition" and that "until more has been done for a critical edition of

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<sup>37</sup> Morellus, F. (ed.), Hentenius, I. (transl.), Οἰκουμένιου Ὑπομνήματα εἰς τὰς τῆς Νέας Διαθήκης πραγματείας τὰςδε = *Oecumenii commentaria in hosce Novi Testamenti tractatus : In Acta Apostolorum, In omnes Pauli Epistolas, In Epistolas Catholicas omnes. accesserunt Arethae Caesareae Cappadociae episcopi Explanationes in Apocalypsin* : Opus nunc primum Graece et Latine editum, interprete Ioann. Hentenio, emendatore et praelectore huius editionis Fed. Morello, Lutetiae Parisiorum: Sumptibus Claudii Sonnii, 1631.

<sup>38</sup> See Turner, C. H., "Greek Patristic Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles", in Hastings, J., (ed.) *A Dictionary of the Bible*, New York: Charles Scribner's sons, 1905, p. 486.



Oecumenius it is hardly possible to be certain that the Florence manuscript may not, after all, embody a recension by Nicetas of the Oecumenian Catena”.<sup>39</sup>

In Cramer’s edition of catenae, published between 1841 and 1844, the catenae on the Pauline Epistles are found in volumes four to seven.<sup>40</sup> Cramer chooses different manuscripts of catenae for the different epistles, namely those attributed to different writers, some of which are anonymous. His contemporary Farmakidis also dedicates four of his seven volumes to the Pauline Epistles. This was based on Oecumenius’ compilation but Farmakidis supported it with additional text from Theophylact’s catena, and Theodoret’s and Chrysostom’s commentaries. The product of this practice could be characterized as a new compilation, in practice very close to that of Nikodemus the Hagiorite.

Finally, in 1897, a Greek scholar, Nikephoros<sup>41</sup> Kalogeras, published the catena on Pauline Epistles written by the twelfth-century Euthymius Zigabenus. In this edition Kalogeras notes in the title that this is edited “for first time from an old manuscript”.<sup>42</sup> It should be mentioned that Matthäi, who first edited Zigabenus’ catena on the Gospels,<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Turner, C. H., “Greek Patristic Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles”, in Hastings, J., (ed.) *A Dictionary of the Bible*, New York: Charles Scribner’s sons, 1905, p. 486.

<sup>40</sup> Cramer, J. A., *Catenae Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum*, 8 vols, Oxford, 1833- 1844.

<sup>41</sup> Turner inaccurately writes “Nicolas” instead of “Nikephoros”. This is a common mistake for the uncial letter N for masculine Greek names, since the name Nicholas is more usual.

<sup>42</sup> Καλογεράς, Ν., *Ευθυμίου του Ζιγαβηνού, Έρμηνεία εις τὰς ΙΔ’ ἐπιστολὰς τοῦ Ἀποστόλου Παύλου και εις τὰς Ζ’ καθολικάς*, Τόμος πρώτος (ν. Ι) *Περιέχων τὴν ἐρμηνείαν τῆς πρὸς Ρωμαίους ἐπιστολῆς, τῶν δύο πρὸς Κορινθίους καὶ τῆς πρὸς Γαλάτας*, Αθήνα: Ἀδελφοὶ Περρῆ, 1887.

<sup>43</sup> Matthäi, Ch. F., *Euthymii Zigabeni commentarius in quatuor evangelia graece and latine: textum graecum nunquam antea editum ad fidem duorum codicum membranaceorum bibliothecarum SS Synodi*

had also found a manuscript in Munich containing Zigabenus' catena on Romans and 1 Corinthians but he had not edited it.<sup>44</sup>

#### 1.4 Methodological developments in the twentieth century

In his article on catenae, Mühlenberg outlines the methodology followed in this field since the late nineteenth century, on which much of the following overview is based.<sup>45</sup> Earlier scholars such as Angelo Mai and Jean Baptiste Pitra only edited texts or published non-critical editions. The history of the discipline was changed by the appearance of philological criticism, which originated in Germany during the nineteenth century. This is the study of literature as an aid to tracing the origins of words, the evolution of languages, and the establishment of accurate texts of authors' works, rather than reading the literature as a subject of study which had its own, non-linguistic interests. It consists mainly of the study of biblical languages in their widest scope, contributing also to textual criticism, so that the vocabulary, grammar, and style of biblical writings can be understood as accurately as possible. Philological analysis could demonstrate whether a text or a passage belongs to a single writer or many.

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*mosquensis auctoris aetate scriptorum diligenter recensuat et repetita versione latina Ioannis Hentenii suisque adiectis animadversionibus edidit Christianus Frider. Matthaei, Leipzig: Weidmann, 1792.*

<sup>44</sup> As Kalogeras also concedes in his edition, see Kalogeras, p. ξα, n. (α).

<sup>45</sup> Mühlenberg, E., "Katenen", in *Theologische Realenzyclopädie* 18, Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1989, p. 17-18.

Following this perspective and strongly influenced by the new philological method, Paul de Lagarde in a review of Dindorf's edition of Clement (1870) insisted that the catena tradition is of great importance and has to be taken into consideration while editing early Church Fathers.<sup>46</sup> Paul Wendland (1864-1915) formulated a project to make a catalogue that would include manuscripts of catenae according to their type.<sup>47</sup> He and Leopold Cohn<sup>48</sup> (1856-1915) were among the first editors who recognized that every type of catena must be scrutinized and classified according to the background and the origin of the evidence and the material contained, so as to be able to check and verify the quality of the text and the allocation. The author of the chapter on catenae in Harnack's *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*, Erwin Preuschen (1867-1920) agrees with Wendland and Cohn, adding that the texts of early Church writers cannot be edited before

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<sup>46</sup> Lietzmann, H., *Catenen. Mitteilungen über ihre Geschichte in handschriftlicher Überlieferung. Mit einem Beitr. v. Hermann Usener*. Freiburg - im - Breisgau, 1897, p. 4. Dindorf's edition was severely criticized by Paul de Lagarde in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1870, pp. 801-24; republished in Lagarde's *Symmicta* (1877), pp. 10-24. See also W. Muss-Arnolt's review of "Catenen. Mitteilungen über ihre Geschichte und handschriftliche Überlieferung by Hans Lietzmann. Mit einem Beitrag von Professor Dr. Hermann Usener. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr, 1897. Pp. vi + 85. M. 4.", in: *The American Journal of Theology*, vol. 2, No.4 (Oct., 1898), pp. 904-906.

<sup>47</sup> Wendland, P., *Neu entdeckte Fragmente Philo's nebst einer Untersuchung über die ursprüngliche Gestalt der Schrift de Sacrificiis Abelis et Caini*, Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1891; Cohn, L., "Zur indirekten Überlieferung Philo's und der älteren Kirchenväter. Nebst einem Nachtrage von P. Wendland", in *Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie* 18 (1892), pp. 475-492; Erhard, A., "Katenen", in Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches (527-1453)*, München: Beck'sche, <sup>2</sup>1897, pp. 210-211; Mühlenberg, E., "Katenen", in *Theologische Realencyclopädie* 18, Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1989, p. 17; Kannengiesser, C., ed., *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: The Bible in Ancient Christianity*, Leiden: Brill, 2006, p. 979.

<sup>48</sup> Cohn, L. and Wendland, P., *Philonis Alexandrini Opera supersunt*, Berlin : Georg Reimer, 1896-1915; Cohn, L., "Zur indirekten Überlieferung Philo's und der älteren Kirchenväter. Nebst einem Nachtrage von P. Wendland", in *Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie* 18 (1892), pp. 475-492.

catenae have been studied; he also gives an index with the printed catenae and the manuscripts that contain catenae.<sup>49</sup> As for as the literary genre of catenae, Albert Erhard, who wrote the chapter about theology in Karl Krumbacher's significant work on Byzantine literature, agrees with Wendland and Cohn and calls on scholars to answer questions such as "How many types of catenae are there for each biblical book? What is the relationship or similarity between them?"<sup>50</sup>

At the same period, Hans Lietzmann had already begun to survey the field of catenae, making a distinction between Catenae and Florilegia.<sup>51</sup> He defined the catena as special exegetical comments by different writers, small pieces that form a larger chain in order to explain a biblical book, and explained the different catenae. Florilegia are broader in scope. Lietzmann also demonstrated that the 'marginal catena' or 'frame catena' (*Randkatena*), with the bible text in the middle of the page and the catena written all around in the top, bottom and outer margins of the page, precedes the 'text catena' (*Textkatena*), where the commentary comes directly after the biblical verse or group of

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<sup>49</sup> Erwin Preuschen, "Kurze Übersicht über die indirekte Überlieferung", in Harnack, A., *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*, T.1 *Die Überlieferung und der Bestand der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius* v. 2, Leipzig : J.C. Hinrich'sche Buchhandlung, 1893, pp. 835-842. This volume was not available to me: I have only seen the table of contents in the first volume and for the description I follow Lietzmann, H., *Catenen. Mitteilungen über ihre Geschichte in handschriftlicher Überlieferung*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1897, p. 5.

<sup>50</sup> Erhard, A., "Katenen", in Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches (527-1453)*, München: Beck, <sup>2</sup>1897, p. 210-211.

<sup>51</sup> Lietzmann, H., *Catenen. Mitteilungen über ihre Geschichte in handschriftlicher Überlieferung. Mit einem Beitr. v. Hermann Usener*. Freiburg-im-Breisgau –Leipzig–Tübingen, 1897, p. 1.

verses that it interprets.<sup>52</sup> In the same work Lietzmann discusses the way that the Bible text is written differently to the catena text, the use of different colours of ink for different purposes and the lemmata of the catenae, which in this case are the names of the Church Fathers.<sup>53</sup>

In 1902, Lietzmann and Georg Karo carried out Wendland's project and produced a basic classified catalogue of manuscripts with catenae.<sup>54</sup> This was arranged by book of the Bible, with each witness classified according to their type.<sup>55</sup> In this catalogue, which is for books of both the Old Testament and the New Testament, the beginning and the end of each excerpt were given along with the names of the writers (so long as they were written in the manuscript). Although Kannengiesser calls Lietzmann's catalogue 'indispensable', Dorival characterizes it as 'notoriously inadequate' ('notoirement insuffisant'). Some years later, Lietzmann inaugurated a series named *Catenenstudien* for the publication of analyses of whole manuscripts. Only two volumes were published (Lang on 1 Corinthians

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<sup>52</sup> Lietzmann, H., *Catenen. Mitteilungen über ihre Geschichte in handschriftlicher Überlieferung*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1897, pp. 9-12.

<sup>53</sup> Lietzmann, H., *Catenen. Mitteilungen über ihre Geschichte in handschriftlicher Überlieferung*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1897, pp. 10-14.

<sup>54</sup> Karo, G. and Lietzmann, H., *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, Göttingen, 1902.

<sup>55</sup> See Dorival, G., *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les psaumes. Contribution à l'étude d'une forme littéraire*, t. 1. [Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaneniense Etudés et Documents Fasc. 43], Leuven 1986, p. 3; Kannengiesser, C., ed., *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: The Bible in Ancient Christianity*, Leiden: Brill, 2006, p. 979.

and Hoppmann on Proverbs).<sup>56</sup> However, neither of these satisfied scholarly expectations, possibly because these were in the form of indexes with no further analysis.<sup>57</sup>

In the same year as the appearance of Lietzmann's catalogue, Cardinal Michael von Faulhaber published his second volume of Old Testament catenae.<sup>58</sup> He had inaugurated a new perspective by editing catenae in full, showing this way the whole spectrum of ancient interpretations to which they witnessed.<sup>59</sup> His later publications included further articles about catenae and relevant scholarship.<sup>60</sup> A few years later, Georg Heinrici edited a catena on Matthew.<sup>61</sup> This followed valuable preparatory work on Peter of Laodicea.<sup>62</sup> According to Reuss, Heinirici's study stands out from other editions of the same period, which were only reproductions of inferior manuscripts that editors

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<sup>56</sup> Lang, O., *Die Catene des Vaticanus gr. 762 zum ersten Korintherbrief analysiert*, Catenenstudien 1, Leipzig, 1909; Hoppmann, O., *Die Catena des Vaticanus gr. 1802 zu den Proverbien*, Catenenstudien 2, 1912.

<sup>57</sup> See Mühlenberg, "Katenen", 1989, p. 17.

<sup>58</sup> Faulhaber, M., *Die Propheten-Catenen nach römischen Handschriften*, Biblische Studien 4, Hefte 2/3, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1899; id., "Hohelied-, Proverbien- und Prediger-Catenen", in *Theologische Studien der Leo-Gesellschaft* 4, Vienna, 1902.

<sup>59</sup> Kannengiesser, C., ed., *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: The Bible in Ancient Christianity*, Leiden: Brill, 2006, p. 980.

<sup>60</sup> Faulhaber, M., "Die Katenenhandschriften der spanischen Bibliotheken", *Biblische Zeitschrift* 1, 1903, pp. 151-159, 246-255, 351-375. Id., "Katenen und Katenforschung." *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 18 (1909), pp. 383-395.

<sup>61</sup> Heinrici, G., *Des Petrus von Laodicea Erklärung des Matthäusevangeliums*, [Beiträge zur Geschichte des Neuen Testaments V], Leipzig, 1908.

<sup>62</sup> Heinrici, G., "Aus der Hinterlassenschaft des Petrus von Laodicea", *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Erklärung des Neuen Testaments* III 2, Leipzig 1905, pp. 99-120.

happened to have at hand.<sup>63</sup> In the same period Joseph Sickenberger investigated two types of catenae on Luke, namely those of Titus of Bostra and of Nicetas,<sup>64</sup> and made significant observations about the catenae on the other Gospels.<sup>65</sup>

Giovanni Mercati, who had worked in the Ambrosian Library in Milan since 1893, was called to work at the Vatican Library in 1898 when he started to publish several and numerous articles on the catenae on the Psalms until his death in 1957.<sup>66</sup> In 1911-1913

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<sup>63</sup> Reuss, J., *Matthäus, Markus, und Johannes-Katenen: Nach den Handschriften Quellen*, Münster: Aschendorf, 1941, p. 2.

<sup>64</sup> Sickenberger, J., *Aus römischen Handschriften über die Lukas Katene des Niketas*, Roma, 1898; Id., *Titus v. Bostra. Studien sur dessen Lukashomilien*, Texte und Untersuchungen 21.1, Leipzig, 1901; Id., *Die Lukaskatene des Niketas von Herakleia untersucht*, Texte und Untersuchungen 22.4, Leipzig, 1902; Id., *Fragmente der Homilien des Cyrill von Alexandrien zum Lukas Evangelium*, Texte und Untersuchungen 34.1, Leipzig, 1909.

<sup>65</sup> Sickenberger, J., “Über griechische Evangelienkommentare”, *Biblische Zeitschrift* 1, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1903, pp. 182-193; Id., “Über die dem Petrus von Laodizea zugeschriebenen Evangelienkommentare”, *Theologische Quartalschrift* 86, Tübingen, 1904, pp. 10-19.

<sup>66</sup> Mercati, G., “L’ ultima parte perduta del commentario d’ Eusebio ai Salmi” (1898), reprinted in *Studi e Testi* 77, Roma 1937, pp. 58-66. Id., “Il commentario d’ Esichio Gerosolimitano sui Salmi”, *Studi e Testi* 5, Roma, 1901, pp.143-179. Id., “Sull’ autore del ‘De titulis Psalmorum’ stampato fra le opera di S. Atanasio”, *OrChrP* 10 (1944), pp. 7-22, reprinted in *Studi e Testi* 296, Roma, 1984, pp. 133-147. Id., “A quale tempo risale ‘Il Siro’ dei commentator greci della Bibbia?”, *Biblica* 26 (1945), pp. 1-11, reprinted in *Studi e Testi* 296, Roma, 1984, pp. 148-157. Id., “Il Niceforo della catena di Daniele Barbaro e il suo commento del Salterio”, *Biblica* 26 (1945), pp. 153-181, reprinted in *Studi e Testi* 296, Roma, 1984, pp. 158-184. Id., “Ancora per Daniele Barbaro”, *Biblica* 27 (1946), p.1-2, reprinted in *Studi e Testi* 296, Roma, 1984, pp. 199-200. Id., “Osservazioni a poemi del Salterio di Origene, Ippolito, Eusebio, Cirillo Alessandrino e altri frammenti inediti”, *Studi e Testi* 142, Roma, 1948. Id., “Un Salterio Greco e una Catena graeca del Salterio posseduti dal Sadoletto”, *Lat.* 15 (1949) 205-211, reprinted in *Studi e Testi* 296, Roma, 1984, pp. 299-305. Id., “Il frammento maffeiano di Nestorio e la catena dei Salmi d’ onde fu trarro”, *Studi e Testi* 154, Roma, 1950. Id., “Alla ricerca dei nomi degli ‘altri’ traduttori nelle omilie sui Salmi di S. Giovanni crisostomo e variazioni su alcune catene del Salterio”, *Studi e Testi* 158, Roma, 1952. Id., *Psalterii Hexapli reliquiae*.

Hermann, Freiherr von Soden published a substantial work about the manuscripts of New Testament<sup>67</sup> and in the first part of it gave an overall view of the catena manuscripts in several libraries. Von Soden tried to arrange and analyze the different types of catenae and to classify the New Testament manuscripts with commentaries separately from continuous text witnesses.<sup>68</sup>

In 1924 Karl Staab, who studied with Sickenberger, published his first article about the catenae on the Catholic Epistles, where he gave an outline of the state of catena scholarship.<sup>69</sup> Two years later he published his monograph on the Pauline catenae.<sup>70</sup> His introduction defines his aim as the overview of the history of exegesis in the Byzantine era and the development of criteria to separate one catena from another. These are threefold. Firstly, the presence or absence of authors' names identifying the sources quoted gives two groups of catenae. Secondly, he distinguishes them as earlier and later catenae according to the time that they were written. A related question to this is whether they were originally created as catenae or were later revisions of compilations: both these considerations give the same groups. Thirdly, Staab identifies the anonymous catenae according to the location of the main representative manuscript (Typus Vaticanus,

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*Pars prima: Osservazioni. Commento critico al testo dei frammenti esaplati*, [Codices ex ecclesiasticis Italiae bybliothebis selecti phototypice expressi 8], Roma: G.R. Castellino, 1965.

<sup>67</sup> Soden, H.F. von, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911–1913.

<sup>68</sup> Soden, H.F. von, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments. I. Teil : Untersuchungen. I. Abteilung: Die Textzeugen*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911, pp. 249-89.

<sup>69</sup> Staab, K., “Die griechischen Katenenkommentare zur den katholischen Briefe”, in *Biblica* 5, 1924, pp. 296-353.

<sup>70</sup> Staab, K., *Die Pauluskatenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*, Rome, 1926.



Monachensis, Parisinus), whilst the compiler's name is used when present (Nicetas, Oecumenius, Theophylact).

Meanwhile, Robert Devreesse made a breakthrough by proving that one type of the catenae on the Psalms could be used as a pattern for the text of other types.<sup>71</sup> The systematic application of this method enabled Marcel Richard to identify two types of catenae on the Psalms according to the quotations of Psalm commentaries copied from their sources.<sup>72</sup> In these two types the sources of the commentary were easily identifiable, whereas these texts in the other types could be characterized as extracts, quotations or paraphrases and rewording. The same assumptions enabled Joseph Reuss to reach similar results for the catenae on the Gospels with an initial survey of Matthew, Mark and John.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Devreesse, R. "Chaînes exégétiques grecques." in *Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément*, 1928, coll. 1084-1233.

<sup>72</sup> Richard, M., "Les homélies d' Astérius sur les psaumes IV-VII", in *Revue Biblique* 44 (1935), pp. 548-558, reprinted in *Opera Minora* II, Nr. 27; Id., "Quelques manuscrits peu connus des chaînes exégétiques et des commentaires grecs sur le Psautier" in *Bulletin d'information de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes* 3 (1954), pp. 87-106, reprinted in *Opera Minora* III, Nr. 69; Id., "Les premières chaînes sur le psautier" in *Bulletin d'information de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes* 5 (1956) 87-98, reprinted in *Opera Minora* III, Nr. 70; Id., *Asterii Sophistae Commentariorum in Psalmos quae supersunt. Accedunt aliquot homiliae anonymae*, [Symbolae Osloensis S 16], Oslo: Brøgger, 1956; Id., "Les manuscrits de la chaîne du type VI sur les psaumes", in *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 3 (1973), pp. 19-38, reprinted in *Opera Minora* III, Nr. 71; Id., "Les fragments du commentaire de S. Hippolyte sur les Proverbes de Salomon" in *Muséon* 78 (1965), pp. 257-290; *Muséon* 79 (1966), pp. 61-94; *Muséon* 80 (1967), pp. 327-364, reprinted in *Opera Minora* I, Nr. 17; Id., "Les fragments d'Origène sur Prov. 30,15-31" in *Epektasis, Fs. J. Daniélou*, Paris, 1972, pp. 385-394, reprinted in *Opera Minora* II, Nr. 23; Id., "Le commentaire du codex Marcianus Gr. 23 sur Prov. 30,15-33" In *Medioevo e umanesimo*. Vol. 24, *Miscellanea Marciana di Studi Bessarionei*, Padua, 1976, pp. 357-370, reprinted in *Opera Minora* III, Nr. 84. All Richard's works can be found on Richard, M., *Opera Minora*, 3 vols, Turnhout – Louvain, 1976 – 1977.

<sup>73</sup> Reuss, J., *Matthäus, Markus, und Johannes-Katenen: Nach den Handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*, Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen 18.4-5, Münster: Aschendorf, 1941, pp. 244-256.

Reuss continued his studies in this field over four decades, publishing full accounts of Matthew, John and Luke but sadly not Mark.<sup>74</sup> At this point in history, a kind of genealogy was being established. Only a few types of catenae are useful for the transmission of their sources word by word; the variety of other types of catenae derives from paraphrasing earlier ones, lengthening them, abbreviating them and even combining them in many ways.

The first half of the twentieth century thus saw two trends within scholarship about catenae. On one hand, Faulhaber and scholars with the same beliefs suggested that each of the catenae has to be edited in full, exactly as they have been transmitted, in order to present their entire content and also to give an overview of the history of interpretation for each verse of the biblical text, according to the whole spectrum of ancient interpretations to which they witness.<sup>75</sup> On the other hand, Reuss and others employed on

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<sup>74</sup> Reuss, J., “Die Evangelienkatenen in Cod. Archivio di S. Pietro gr. B 59”, in *Biblica* 35 (1954), pp. 207-216. Id., *Matthäus-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche, aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt und herausgegeben von Reuss J.*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 61, Berlin: Akademie, 1957. Id., *Johannes-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche, aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt und herausgegeben von Reuss J.*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 89, Berlin: Akademie, 1966. Id., “Ein unbekannter Kommentar zum 1. Kapitel des Lukasevangeliums”, in *Biblica* 58 (1977), pp. 224-230. Id., *Lukaskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche, aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt und herausgegeben von Reuss J.*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 130, Berlin: Akademie, 1984.

<sup>75</sup> Kannengiesser, C., ed., *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: The Bible in Ancient Christianity*, Leiden: Brill, 2006, p. 980.

the editions of Greek Church Fathers by the *Berliner Kirchenväterkommission*<sup>76</sup> aimed to gather the fragments of lost commentaries preserved in catenae, based on the attribution of the texts in the catalogues. Of course they were aware that the texts in catenae, such as excerpts, fragments or very short quotations, could be understood only in a study of the writers of these excerpts. The study of catenae was an essential preliminary task.<sup>77</sup>

From this period of scholarly activity, work on the Catenae on Genesis, Psalms and Job in particular has shown that the types of the catenae in their most ancient manuscripts must be analyzed and compared and the tradition of their texts must be checked, in order to reveal the Urcatena/Urkatene, the first catena in the tradition of each text. Then some chosen excerpts or parts of the catenae may be shown in tables which demonstrate their dependence on one other. The work on Psalm 118 in two volumes by Marguerite Harl, with the assistance of Dorival,<sup>78</sup> can give us insight into the way that a writer of a catena works, and also how verses can be important as individual units since they can be studied even when their sources have been removed.

The main task remains always to identify the types of the different catenae of a biblical text that took their material directly from the source that they use. Mühlenberg believes that this work is extended in New Testament studies, but not in Old Testament

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<sup>76</sup> Eltester, W., “Zur Geschichte der Berliner Kirchenväterkommission anlässlich der 75. Wiederkehr ihres Gründungsjahres”, *Theologische Literaturzeitung: Monatsschrift für das gesamte Gebiet der Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*, 1968, pp. 11-20

<sup>77</sup> Devreesse, R. “Chaînes exégétiques grecques.” in *Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément*, 1928, coll. 1099.

<sup>78</sup> Harl, M., and G. Dorival, “La chaîne palestinienne sur le Ps 118 (Origène, Eusèbe, Didyme, Apollinaire, Athanase, Théodoret). Tome I: Introduction, texte grec critique et traduction. Tome II: Catalogue des fragments, notes et indices.” *Sources chrétiennes* 189-190, Paris: Cerf, 1972.

studies.<sup>79</sup> Nonetheless, despite mentioning this gap, Mühlenberg himself produced a work on the catenae on the Psalms in the 1970s.<sup>80</sup> Although at the beginning of this volume he poses the question as to which are the initial and original catenae and stand at the beginning of the tradition as primary types,<sup>81</sup> he appears to believe that the problem for the most of the biblical texts is that none of the extant types of catena preserves or reflects the initial or primary catena, but only revised versions of catenae that were reworked multiple times during the Byzantine period or simply mixtures of them.

In 1980 Mauritius Geerard in his work *Concilia Catenae*<sup>82</sup> succeeded in listing clearly all the previous scholarship regarding editions of the catenae and to give tables with the authors cited in each type. Van Winden in his positive review of *Concilia Catenae* notes that the catenae as is generally known has come more into researchers' field of view during the last decades, that whoever deals with these fragments of indirect tradition knows how difficult it is to find the way in this forest, and that Geerard gives a clear outline of the different types of exegetical catenae on the different books of the Old and New Testament: Octateuch, Kings, Psalms, Odes, Job, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Canticles, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Acts, Pauline

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<sup>79</sup> Mühlenberg, E., "Katenen", in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 18, Berlin – New York : Walter de Gruyter, 1989, p. 18.

<sup>80</sup> Mühlenberg, E., *Psalmekommentare aus der Katenenüberlieferung*, Bd. 1-2: *Didymus der Blinde u. Apollinaris von Laodicea (editio + apparatus crit.)*. Bd. 3: *Untersuchungen zu den Psalmekatenen*. Patristische Texte und Studien, vols. 15, 16, 19, Berlin: De Gruyter, 1975-1978.

<sup>81</sup> Mühlenberg, E., *Psalmekommentare aus der Katenenüberlieferung*, Bd. 3: *Untersuchungen zu den Psalmekatenen*. Patristische Texte und Studien, vol. 19, Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978, p. 1.

<sup>82</sup> Geerard, M., *Concilia Catenae, Clavis Patrum Graecorum* IV, Turnhout: Brepols, 1980.

Letters and Catholic Epistles.<sup>83</sup> This outline is comprehensible only in connection, firstly, with the catalogue of Karo and Lietzmann,<sup>84</sup> which Geerard uses to display the types that they identified and their list of patristic authors, secondly with the list of Rahlfs published in 1914<sup>85</sup> especially for the books of Old Testament, and finally with the lengthy article of Devreesse.<sup>86</sup> Although these lists are generally very helpful, Mühlenberg observes that some require special attention. Particularly misleading are lists of authors that are listed in the catenae in the cases when no distinction is made between the authors or elements which regularly appear together and those that appear occasionally with some scattered quotations. These offer no insight into the structure of the respective type of catena.<sup>87</sup>

More recently Gilles Dorival has undertaken work on the evolution of the catenae on the Psalms.<sup>88</sup> In his first volume he surveys the study of the catenae, describing the four stages of the traditional methodology in the study of catenae. Firstly, scholars have to identify manuscripts containing catena. Secondly, catenae have to be described by

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<sup>83</sup> Van Winden, J. C. M., review of Geerard, M., *Concilia Catenae, Vigiliae Christianae*, vol. 36, No.1 (Mar., 1982), pp. 79-80.

<sup>84</sup> Karo, G. and Lietzmann, H., *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, Göttingen, 1902.

<sup>85</sup> Rahlfs, A., Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments, *Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens* (MSU) 2, [Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse 1914], Berlin : Weidmann, 1914; Rahlfs, A., *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*. Band I.1, *Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII.Jahrhundert*, revised by Detlef Fraenkel, Stuttgart : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2004.

<sup>86</sup> Devreesse, R. "Chaînes exégétiques grecques." in *Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément*, 1928, coll. 1084-1233.

<sup>87</sup> Mühlenberg, "Katenen", 1989, p. 18.

<sup>88</sup> Gilles Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques sur les Psaumes; contribution à l' étude d' une forme littéraire*, 4 vols, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense: Etudes et Documents 43-46, Leuven: Peeters, 1986-1995.

identifying the sources within the text. Thirdly, the genealogy of the text must be established, whilst at the same time the order in which they were compiled and the relationships among primary, secondary and isolated catenae must be shown. Fourthly, Dorival mentions attempts to date the catenae and to propose their probable provenance.<sup>89</sup> Dorival gives the reader an idea not only of how ancient authors of catena between the fifth and eighth centuries worked, but also a survey of the previous modern research on this field.

The most recent work to appear concerning catenae on the Gospels was Lamb's *The Catena in Marcum*, published in 2012.<sup>90</sup> It filled a gap in modern scholarship, since the Gospel of Mark was not covered by Reuss. This book consists of two parts. The first one covers earlier scholarship and tries to show the way in which the catena originated and developed. The second part is an English translation<sup>91</sup> of the catena on Mark found in Cramer's edition.<sup>92</sup> At the end of the book Lamb gives an appendix of the identified sources of the catena. Influenced by Dorival's work, Lamb champions the idea that the catena is an "open book".

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<sup>89</sup> Dorival, G., *Les chaînes exégétiques sur les Psaumes*, vol. 1, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense: Etudes et Documents 43, Leuven: Peeters, 1986, pp. 7-33.

<sup>90</sup> Lamb, W., *The Catena in Marcum: A Byzantine Anthology of Early Commentary on Mark*, Texts and Editions for New Testament Study 6, Leiden: Brill, 2012.

<sup>91</sup> Similar to Suggit's work, who translated the commentary on the Apocalypse of Oecumenius. See *Oecumenius, Commentary on the Apocalypse*, translated by John Suggit, Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2006.

<sup>92</sup> Cramer, J. A., *Catenae Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum*, v. 1, Oxford, 1840.

In the next chapter of the current study I will try to show that the so-called Pseudo-Oecumenian catena could be categorized further and that there are manuscripts that have a closer relationship between them than others, enabling the identification of different strands of tradition.

## 1.5 Explanation of major works on Pauline catenae related to the Pseudo-Oecumenian tradition

### 1.5.1. *Explanation of Theoklitos Farmakidis' work (1842—1844)*

Theoklitos Farmakidis (1784-1860) was a theologian with studies in Greek philology in Constantinople, in Bucharest, in Vienna and in Göttingen. He was ordained to the priesthood and many years after he returned back to Greece he became professor at the newly-established University of Athens (1837). He wrote many books and he was active in politics, especially about ecclesiastical matters. Farmakidis advised the King of Greece to decide on the creation of the Autocephalous Church of Greece, because he believed that since the aim of the Greek Revolution was the independence of the Ottoman Empire, the Oecumenical Patriarchate that was based in Constantinople would thus potentially endanger internal Greek policies.<sup>93</sup>

Farmakidis wrote a seven-volume work with a title that explains its genre, *Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη μετὰ ὑπομνημάτων ἀρχαίων*, which could be translated as: *The New Testament*

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<sup>93</sup> For more about Farmakidis' life, see *Ἡ ζωή και η δράση του Θεόκλητου Φαρμακίδη (1784-1860)*: 1ο επιστημονικό συνέδριο Νίκαια-Λάρισα 24 & 25 Απριλίου 2010. Λάρισα: Πνευματικός Πολιτισμικός Οργανισμός Δήμου Νίκαιας, 2010. Also, Φαρμακίδης, Θ., *Απολογία*, Αθήνα: Άγγελος Αγγελίδης (1840)

*with ancient hypomnemata*, and published it between 1842 and 1845.<sup>94</sup> In this work, he covered all the books of the New Testament:

- v. 1: The Gospel according to Matthew (1842)
- v. 2: The Gospels according to Mark, Luke and John (1842)
- v. 3: The Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistle to the Romans (1842)
- v. 4: Both Epistles to the Corinthians (1843)
- v. 5: From Galatians to Philemon (1843)
- v. 6: Hebrews and the Catholic Epistles (1844)
- v. 7: Revelation (1845)

For the Gospels, Farmakidis used Zigabenus' catena, for Acts and the Pauline Epistles it was that of Oecumenius (to adopt Farmakidis's own nomenclature) and for Revelation he relied on both catenae by Arethas of Caesarea and Andrew of Caesarea. Given the focus of the present thesis, my interest is limited to the Pauline epistles in volumes three to six. In his introduction in the Pauline epistles at the beginning of the third volume,<sup>95</sup> Farmakidis talks about Oecumenius (whom he still believed lived in the tenth century) and the editorial history of his catena on the Pauline epistles, with references to Montfaucon, Donatus, Morellus, Hentenius and Nikodemus the Hagiorite. Then he compares the works on the Pauline epistles by Theophylact, Zigabenus and

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<sup>94</sup> Φαρμακίδης Θ., *Η Καινή Διαθήκη μετὰ ὑπομνημάτων ἀρχαίων*, Αθήνα: Νικόλαος Αγγελίδης, 1842–1845.

<sup>95</sup> Φαρμακίδης Θ., *Η Καινή Διαθήκη μετὰ ὑπομνημάτων ἀρχαίων*, v. 3 *Περιέχων τὰς Πράξεις τῶν Ἀποστόλων καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ρωμαίους ἐπιστολὴν*, Αθήνα: Νικόλαος Αγγελίδης, 1942, pp. ζ'–ιγ'.



Oecumenius, concluding that Oecumenius' compilation is closest to the genre of catena. Later on he explains part of the methodology that he followed for his edition. He seems to consider as very important whether the names of the Church Fathers are written in the text or in the margins; this is something that I also discuss in the chapters below about Urkatena and the codex Vaticanus. Since Farmakidis observed that some extracts appear sometimes with a name of the Father to whom they are attributed, some others without name and in some cases with a different name of another Church Father, he decided that he could not trust these names and thus he would not generally use them. His practice was to include in his edition only the names that could be found in the text and some of the names in the margins that he included in parentheses, and he explicitly apologises to those who may find this practice unsatisfactory.<sup>96</sup>

Another innovation by Farmakidis stems from his judgement that Oecumenius' compilation is in many cases so bad that it is difficult to understand. He does not blame the compiler for this, but rather the scribes and later editors.<sup>97</sup> It is clear that Farmakidis did not use any manuscripts, which he admits: "How could we correct these mistakes? From manuscripts? There are no manuscripts in Greece as far as we know." In this he was right, because the geographical extent of Greece was so limited at that period<sup>98</sup> and the

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<sup>96</sup> Φαρμακίδης Θ., *Η Καινή Διαθήκη μετὰ ὑπομνημάτων ἀρχαίων*, ν. 3 *Περιέχων τὰς Πράξεις τῶν Ἀποστόλων καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστολὴν*, Αθήνα: Νικόλαος Αγγελίδης, 1942, π. θ'.

<sup>97</sup> Φαρμακίδης Θ., *Η Καινή Διαθήκη μετὰ ὑπομνημάτων ἀρχαίων*, ν. 3 *Περιέχων τὰς Πράξεις τῶν Ἀποστόλων καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστολὴν*, Αθήνα: Νικόλαος Αγγελίδης, 1942, π. ι'.

<sup>98</sup> After 1830, the new country only consisted of the Peloponnese and Central Greece. With the Treaty of Constantinople in 1832 the borders were extended a little bit further in the North, and were represented with a horizontal line from the Ambracian Gulf of the Ionian Sea in northwestern Greece to the Pagasetic Gulf that is formed by the Mount Pelion peninsula in central-east Greece.

Pseudo-Oecumenian catena manuscripts that are known to us today belonged to libraries in areas, which at the time were still under the Ottomans. So Farmakidis relied on Morellus' edition for his publication. Farmakidis' innovation is that he "healed the text" or "filled the gaps" with the help of Hentenius' Latin translation and Theophylact's catena. In order to make it clearer, I will give an example using Gal 1:1–5 the way that he worked.

This explanation relies on the table below, which is structured as follows. The first column characterises the nature of the text in the far right column. In many catenae, especially the text catenae, the biblical text is found as a block of text which is followed by the commentary. The reader could have easily been confused if there was no distinction between the comments. Furthermore, in this format it would be difficult to associate each comment with a certain word or phrase of the verse, so there was often a repetition of the relevant biblical text. The second and the third columns refer to the chapters and verses of the biblical text respectively, whereas the fourth column allocates a unique identification number (ID) to each comment of the catena. In the final column we see the text. The letters in black show the text that is expected to be found in an unabridged Pseudo-Oecumenian Pauline catena manuscript. The green letters are additions from Theophylact that were introduced by Farmakidis. The words in red were omitted by Farmakidis, whereas those in blue are those which Farmakidis took from Theophylact to replace those of Pseudo-Oecumenian catena (which are identified in parentheses).

	Ch.	Ver	ID	Text
Repetition	1	1	1	οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων
Comment	1	1	1	Εὐθέως ἀναίρει τὸ εἶναι ἀνθρώπων μαθητῆς· ἀπόστολος γὰρ εἰμί φησίν· οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ἐγγεiriσθεῖς τὴν ἀποστολήν. οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου. ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. εἰς τοῦτο ἐλθὼν τὸ ἔργον.
Theophylact*				Ἐβάπτισε μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν Ἀνανίας· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνος πρὸς πίστιν ἐκάλεσεν, ἀλλ' ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ὁ Χριστὸς. Διὰ τί δὲ οὐκ εἶπεν, Παῦλος κλητὸς, ἀλλ', ἀπόστολος; Διότι περὶ τοῦτου πᾶς ἦν ὁ λόγος, λεγόντων ὅτι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ἀπόστολος κεχειροτόνητο· πρὸς τοῦτο οὖν ἐνίσταται, δεικνύς ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο.
Repetition	1	1	2	ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς
Theophylact				Καὶ μὴ αἱ Πράξεις, ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος δηλοῦσιν αὐτὸν ἀφορισθῆναι εἰς τὴν ἀποστολήν. Διὸ οὖν, ὅτι μία ἐξουσία Υἱοῦ, καὶ Πνεύματος, καὶ Πατρὸς.
Comment	1	1	2	Σημειῶσαι δὲ τὸ διὰ ἐπὶ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ κείμενον· καὶ πρῶτον τὸν υἱὸν ὀνομασθέντα
Repetition	1	1	4	τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν
Comment	1	1	4	Ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς τὸν πατέρα τιμῆς τοῦτο εἰρηται. καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀκουόντων ἀσθένειαν.
Repetition	1	1	3	ἐκ νεκρῶν
Comment	1	1	3	Εὐκαίρως τῆς οἰκονομίας καὶ τοῦ θανάτου ἐμνήσθη τοῦ κυρίου· ἵνα τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐεργεσιῶν ὑπομνήσας, τοῦτω γοῦν τῷ τρόπῳ πείσῃ μηκέτι τῷ νόμῳ προσέχειν. ἀλλὰ τῷ Χριστῷ.
Theophylact				τῷ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντι καὶ ἀναστάντι· καὶ ὅτι τὸ τοιοῦτου ἀφίστασθαι εὐεργέτου, μεγάλης ἀγνωμοσύνης.
Repetition	1	2	5	καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντες ἀδελφοί
Comment	1	2	5	Τι δήποτε νῦν πάντων μέμνηται τῶν ἀδελφῶν· ὅτι οἱ διαβιάλλοντες αὐτὸν ἔλεγον μόνον τὸν Παῦλον κατὰ καινοτομίαν τὴν περιτομὴν κωλύειν· βούλεται οὖν δείξαι πολλοὺς τῶν τοιούτων δογματῶν ὄντας κοινωνοὺς.
Repetition	1	2	6	ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας
Comment	1	2	6	Ὅρα τοῦ θυμοῦ τὴν ἐνδείξιν· οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν ὡς εἰώθει τοῖς ἀγαπητοῖς ἢ τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις ἵγουν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ θεοῦ· ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας.
Theophylact*				[Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ διαστασίζον, εἰκότως καὶ πολλὰς ἐκκλησίας τοῦτους ὀνομάζει· ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἐντρέπον αὐτοὺς, συνάγει εἰς ἓν διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦτου. Οἱ γὰρ εἰς πολλὰ διηρημένοι, οὐ δύνανται ταύτη καλεῖσθαι τῇ προσηγορίᾳ, ἢ συμφωνίᾳ δηλοῦ.]
Repetition	1	3	7	χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη
Comment	1	3	7	Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκινδύνευσεν τῇ περιτομῇ τῆς χάριτος ἐκπεσεῖν. ταύτην αὐτοῖς ἐπέχεσθαι· καλῶς δε φησί καὶ εἰρήνην· ἦσαν γὰρ ἐκπολεμωθέντες πρὸς θεὸν τῇ τῶν νομικῶν ἐνταλάματων παρατηρήσει.
Repetition	1	3	8	ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς
Comment	1	3	8	Ὁ θεὸς πατὴρ ὑμῶν ἐγένετο. Πόθεν δ' ἔχετε φησί καλεῖν πατέρα τὸν θεόν. οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος; τί οὖν ἔχεσθε· τοῦ νόμου;
Repetition	1	4	9	τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν
Comment	1	4	9	Ἰδοὺ ἑαυτὸν δέδωκεν· ὅταν οὖν ἀκούσης ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτὸν δεδόσθαι, τὴν εὐδοκίαν καὶ τὴν θέλησιν νόει τοῦ πατρὸς.
Repetition	1	4	10	ὅπως ἐξέλθῃται ἡμᾶς
Comment	1	4	10	Ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν ἐξαλείφωσιν τε τὰ πρότερα καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον σύντηράν· ὅπως γὰρ φησιν ἐξέλθῃται ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ἐνεστώτος αἰῶνος πονηροῦ· τουτέστι τῶν πονηρῶν (κακῶν Ps-Oecumenius) πονηρῶν Theophylact) πράξεων· καὶ τῆς διεφθαρμένης προαιρέσεως (ζωῆς Ps-Oecumenius) προαιρέσεως Theophylact) ζωῆς· ταύτην γὰρ αἰῶνα καλεῖ πονηρὸν· οὐ τὸν χρόνον ἢ τὰς ἡμέρας ἅπασι. οὕτως γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰώθαμεν, ὅταν τι τῶν ἀδοκίμων ἡμῖν συμβῇ. κακὴν φησιν ἡμέραν ἐποίησα·
Theophylact				Κακὴν ἔσχον ἡμέραν· οὐ τὸν καιρὸν, ἀλλὰ τὴν περίστασιν, καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν διαβάλλοντες. Οὐ γὰρ ἵνα ἡμᾶς ἀποκτείνῃ, καὶ ἐκβάλῃ τῆς παρουσίας ζωῆς, διὰ τοῦτο ἀπέθανεν ὁ Χριστὸς· ἀλλ' ἵνα τῶν πονηρῶν πράξεων ἀπαλλάξῃ τοῦ λοιποῦ.
Comment	1	4	10 a	Διὰ δὲ τοῦ εἰπεῖν ἐνεστώτος αἰῶνος πονηροῦ, ἔδειξεν ὅτι τὸ κακὸν οὐκ ἀγέννητον οὐδὲ ἀεΐδιον. ἀλλὰ πρόσκαιρον.
Repetition	1	4	11	κατὰ τὸ θέλημα
Comment	1	4	11	Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶλετο ἐκείνοι μηδεὶν εἶναι τὸν νόμον ὡς ὑπὸ θεοῦ δοθέντα. δείκνυσιν ὅτι καὶ τῷ τῷ Χριστῷ πιστεῦσαι. θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς ἐστὶ· κατὰ τὸ θέλημα γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς. ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὁ Χριστὸς· ὅρῳ ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ ἐπιταγῇ τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν λέγεται, ἀλλὰ μόνῃ σύννευσιν· πάλιν δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν εἰπὼν. τοῦ βαπτίσματος ὑπομνήσκαι· τί οὖν ἔχεσθε τοῦ νόμου;
Repetition	1	5	12	ὃ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας
Comment	1	5	12	Ἐνθυμηθεῖς διὰ τῶν εἰρημένων τὰς ἀφάτους εὐεργεσίας τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐξ ὧν κατεκρίνοντο οὗτοι, ἀφιέντες τὸν εὐεργετήσαντα Χριστόν· εἰτα ἐκπλαγεῖς ταύτας· εἰς δοξολογίαν κατέπαυσεν τὸν λόγον· οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτὰς ἐξείπειν· εἰς δοξολογίαν κατέπαυσεν τὸν λόγον.

Table 1: Farmakidis compilation Gal. 1:1–5

Only the two passages that are marked as Theophylact\* feature a note that these are interpolations from Theophylact's Pauline catena. The rest of the green text is present in Farmakidis' "Pseudo-Oecumenian" catena, but he does not mention that these are Theophylact's words. It is difficult for the reader to spot these interpolations, since they fit so nicely in the meaning of the text. In fact, they complete it, as for example in *Gal* 1.1, where the third comment, «Εὐκαίρως τῆς οἰκονομίας καὶ τοῦ θανάτου ἐμνήσθη τοῦ κυρίου· ἵνα τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐνεργειῶν ὑπομνήσας, τούτῳ γοῦν τῷ τρόπῳ πείσῃ μηκέτι τῷ νόμῳ προσέχειν. ἀλλὰ τῷ Χριστῷ», is completed with: «τῷ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντι καὶ ἀναστάντι· καὶ ὅτι τὸ τοιούτου ἀφίστασθαι ἐνεργέτου, μεγάλης ἀγνωμοσύνης»: the dative in the latter clause attributes further qualities to «τῷ Χριστῷ».

Also, it is evident in *Gal* 1.4 comment 10 that Farmakidis has opted for the replacement of the words that are present in the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena tradition with those from the Theophylact's text. This way we have the following two changes:

- κακῶν Ps.-Oecumenius] πονηρῶν Theophylact
- ζωῆς Ps.-Oecumenius] προαιρέσεως Theophylact
- ἡμέραν ἐποίησα Ps.-Oecumenius] Κακὴν ἔσχον ἡμέραν· οὐ τὸν καιρὸν, ἀλλὰ τὴν περίστασιν, καὶ τὴν πράξιν διαβάλλοντες. Οὐ γὰρ ἵνα ἡμᾶς ἀποκτείνῃ, καὶ ἐκβάλῃ τῆς παροῦσης ζωῆς, διὰ τοῦτο ἀπέθανεν ὁ Χριστός· ἀλλ' ἵνα τῶν πονηρῶν πράξεων ἀπαλλάξῃ τοῦ λοιποῦ Ps.-Oecumenius.

It seems that Farmakidis tried to give readers or the scholarly community something that could be considered as complete as it could be. But, by interpolating extracts from Theophylact, he was creating something new that never existed in any manuscript. He presumably believed that, by doing this, he prepared an edition, which

was not lacking in meaning. Indeed, in some cases the readers of Oecumenius' work have the sense that the sentences are incomplete. Yet Farmakidis added so much more to the meaning of the Oecumenian text that his edition could be considered as a version of Theophylact's Pauline catena. Additionally, the way that Farmakidis divides and arranges the comments for his edition could rather be characterized as similar to Theophylact's division of the comments.

In any case the reader should be aware that not all changes are mentioned in the footnotes. Farmakidis sometimes mentions cases in which he interpolated text from Theophylact's catena, but not always. As we saw in the table above, only for two comments are there footnotes by Farmakidis with the information that these are interpolations to the text of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena:

- «Ἐβάπτισε μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν Ἀνανίας· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνος πρὸς πίστιν ἐκάλεσεν, ἀλλ' ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ὁ Χριστὸς. Διὰ τί δὲ οὐκ εἶπεν, Παῦλος κλητὸς, ἀλλ', ἀπόστολος; Διότι περὶ τούτου πᾶς ἦν ὁ λόγος, λεγόντων ὅτι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ἀπόστολος κεχειροτόνητο· πρὸς τοῦτο οὖν ἐνίσταται, δεικνὺς ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο».<sup>99</sup>
- «Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ διεστασίαζον, εἰκότως καὶ πολλὰς ἐκκλησίας τούτους ὀνομάζει· ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἐντρέπων αὐτοὺς, συνάγει εἰς ἓν διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τούτου. Οἱ γὰρ εἰς πολλὰ διηρημένοι, οὐ δύνανται ταύτη καλεῖσθαι τῇ προσηγορίᾳ, ἢ συμφωνίαν δηλοῖ.»<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Φαρμακίδης Θ., *Η Καινή Διαθήκη μετὰ ὑπομνημάτων ἀρχαίων*, ν. 5 Περιέχων τὴν πρὸς Γαλάτας ἐπιστολὴν μέχρι τῆς πρὸς Φιλήμονα, (Αθήνα: Νικόλαος Ἀγγελίδης), 1943, p. 5.

<sup>100</sup> Φαρμακίδης Θ., *Η Καινή Διαθήκη μετὰ ὑπομνημάτων ἀρχαίων*, ν. 5 Περιέχων τὴν πρὸς Γαλάτας ἐπιστολὴν μέχρι τῆς πρὸς Φιλήμονα, (Αθήνα: Νικόλαος Ἀγγελίδης), 1943, p. 6.

What makes Farmakidis' edition even more intriguing is that, apart from Theophylact's catena, he also uses further extracts. These are mainly from Theodoret, with a few from Chrysostom. In total, the number of the additions he records in the footnotes are thirty-six additions from Theophylact, nine from Theodoret and six from Chrysostom. After a few pages it is left to the discretion of the reader whether he/she wants the assistance of these texts, because they are not found in the main body of the text but instead are found only in footnotes. Interestingly, not all of these additions are taken from Theophylact's catena on Galatians or Theodoret's and Chrysostom's commentaries on Galatians, but also from commentaries on other books. For example, on page 6 in comment 4 on Gal 1:1 there is a comment from Chrysostom's homilies on Acts. Although, this is not a new practice, as we will see in the edition of Staab's Pseudo-Oecumenian "sekundärer Erweiterungs-Type" in chapter six, it is a surprise to find it in a modern edition.

In his mixed apparatus, combining an apparatus criticus, apparatus fontium, and a list of parallel texts, all in the form of footnotes, Farmakidis not only adds his own comments (on Galatians see pages 16 and 24) and other encyclopedical comments (e.g. pages 37 and 47), but also text critical comments on the biblical text, even though he did not rely on any manuscripts. Thus, these text critical comments must be based on editions of the New Testament to which he had access. Here are two examples from *Galatians*:

- Gal 4.4 *γενόμενον*: Farmakidis comments «παρ' ἄλλοις γεννώμενον» (p. 48)
- Gal 6.13 *περιτεμνόμενοι*: Farmakidis comments «παρ' ἄλλοις περιτετμημένοι» (p. 76)

Furthermore, conjectures can also be found as part of his text critical comments. For example, at Gal 5.13 Farmakidis says: "om. ἔχητε aut ἐκδέξασθε aut ἐκτρέψητε post

ἐλευθερίαν”.<sup>101</sup> However, none of these three words is attested in a biblical manuscript reported in any of the standard editions.

### *1.5.2 Explanation of Cramer’s work (1842—1845)*

Cramer’s edition is the most widely known and used edition of all. In eight volumes he published several types of catenae in all books of the New Testament except Revelation. Cramer’s work could be characterized as very “Oxoniensis and Parisinus” with only a hint from Munich, since he used manuscripts from only these places. This shows some of the limitations of his work. One must admit that he worked with more manuscripts than earlier scholars, which remains a great help even today.

The New Testament volumes are arranged as follows:

v. 1: Matthew and Mark (1840)

v. 2: Luke and John (1841)

v. 3: The Acts of the Apostles (1838)

v. 4: Romans (1844)

v. 5: 1–2 Corinthians (1841)

v. 6: Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, 1–2 Thessalonians and Ephesians (1842)

v. 7: 1–2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, Hebrews (1843)

v. 8: Catholic epistles (1840)

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<sup>101</sup> Φαρμακίδης Θ., *Η Καινή Διαθήκη μετὰ ὑπομνημάτων ἀρχαίων*, v. 5 Περιέχων τὴν πρὸς Γαλάτας ἐπιστολὴν μέχρι τῆς πρὸς Φιλίμονα, (Αθήνα: Νικόλαος Ἀγγελίδης), 1943, p. 65.

I have created tables for the Gospels, the Catholic Epistles, the Acts and the Pauline Epistles, that explain in a nutshell which manuscripts were used in his work for each catena type and what name each type has been given.

#### 1.5.2.1. Gospels

	<u>Matthew</u>	<u>Mark</u>	<u>Luke</u>	<u>John</u>
<b>Oxoniensis, Bodl. Laud. 33</b>		recensio ii	Supplement	Supplement
<b>Paris. gr. 178</b>				
<b>Parisinus Coislin. Gr. 23</b>	catena integra		typus B	catena integra
<b>Oxon. Bodl. Misc. 182</b>				
<b>Oxon. Bodl. Auct. T.1.4</b>	supplement – Chrysostom			catena integra

Table 2: Cramer's types of catena in the Gospels

For the catena on Matthew Cramer used Parisinus Coislinianus gr. 23 which he characterized as “catena integra” (v. 1, pp. 1–257) and Oxoniensis Bodleianus Auct. T.1.4 for supplementary material from Chrysostom's commentary on Matthew (v. 1, pp. 449–496). For the catena on Mark, which he named “recensio ii”, Cramer used three manuscripts: Oxoniensis Bodleianus Laud. 33, Parisinus gr. 178 and Parisinus



Coislinianus gr. 23 (v. 1, pp. 261–447). For the catena on Luke, characterized as typus B, he used Parisinus Coislinianus gr. 23 and Oxoniensis Bodleianus Misc. 182 (v. 2, pp. 3–174) and as supplement Oxoniensis Bodleianus Laud. 33 (v. 2, pp. 415–430). For the catena on John, Cramer used Parisinus Coislinianus gr. 23 and Oxoniensis Bodleianus Auct. T.1.4, which he characterized as “catena integra” (v. 2, pp. 177–413) for supplementary material from Oxoniensis Bodleianus Laud. 33 (v. 2, pp. 431–450).

### 1.5.2.2. Catholic Epistles

For the Catholic Epistles (v.8) he published the so-called catena Andreae from Oxoniensis Coll. Nov. 58 for all the Catholic letters apart from Jude, for which he used Oxoniensis Bodl. Libr., Rawlinson G. 157.<sup>102</sup>

	Jas	1 Pet	2 Pet	1 Jn	2 Jn	3 Jn	Jd
Catena Andreae	Oxon. Coll. Nov. 58						Oxon. Rawlinson G. 157

Table 3: Cramer’s types of catena in Catholic Epistles

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<sup>102</sup> This manuscript has no GA number, thus is not in the *Liste*. Whereas Karo and Lietzmann identify it as ‘Bodl. Misc. 169’. See Houghton, H.A.G. and D.C. Parker (eds.), *Textual Variation: Theological and Social Tendencies? Papers from the Fifth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* [Texts and Studies, Third series, vol. 6], Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2008, p. 21.

### 1.5.2.3. Acts

Cramer used the same manuscript for Acts as the Catholic Epistles, publishing the catena Andreae from Oxoniensis Coll. Nov. 58 (v. 3. pp. 1–424).

### 1.5.2.4. Pauline Epistles

	Rom	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Php	Col	1Thess	2Thess	1Tim	2Tim	Tit	Phm	Heb
Oxon. Bodl. Auct. E. 2.20 [=Misc. 48]	typus Vaticanus													
Monacensis gr. 412	typus Monacensis													
Paris. Gr. 227		Typus Vaticanus												
Paris. Gr. 223			Ps-Oec Ps-Oec											
Paris. Gr. 216														
Oxon. Bodl. Auct. T. 1. 7. [=Misc. 185]				Ps-Oec (Supp.)			Ps-Oec (Supp.)							
Oxon. Bodl. Roe 16				Ps-Oec (Supp.)			Ps-Oec (Supp.)							
Paris. Coislin. Gr. 204														
Paris. Gr. 238														
Cramer, v. 4 (1844)														
Cramer, v. 5 (1841)														
Cramer, v. 6 (1842)														
Cramer, v. 7 (1843)														

Table 4: Cramer's editions of several catena types in the Pauline Epistles

Cramer published typus Vaticanus for Romans (v. 4) from codex Oxoniensis Bodl. Auct. E. 2. 20 [Misc.48], and also included Typus Monacensis from the codex Monacensis gr. 412 (v. 4), in order to facilitate comparison between the two. For 1 Corinthians (v. 5) he used Parisinus gr. 227, with supplementary material for the Pseudo-Oecumenian type from Oxoniensis Bodleianus Auct. T.1.7 [=Misc. 185] (v. 5, pp. 460–469) and from Oxoniensis Bodleianus Roe 16 (v. 5, pp. 477–478)

Cramer published a Pseudo-Oecumenian catena on 2 Corinthians from two manuscripts. The first half of the text comes from Parisinus gr. 223 (v. 5, pp. 345–444) and the rest

from Parisinus gr. 216 (v. 5, pp. 445–459). He also supplemented this with more extracts from Oxoniensis Bodleianus Auct. T.1.7 [=Misc. 185] (v. 5, pp. 469–477) and from Oxoniensis Bodleianus Roe 16 (v. 5, pp. 479).

In his sixth volume he published Typus Parisinus from Parisinus Coislinianus gr. 204 for Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 Thessalonians and 2 Thessalonians. He also adds supplementary material for these epistles from Oxoniensis Bodleianus Auct. T.1.7 [=Misc. 185] (v. 6, pp. 399–410) and from Oxoniensis Bodleianus Roe 16 (v. 6, pp. 410–413).

Finally, in the seventh volume he continues with typus Parisinus for 1–2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon from Parisinus Coislinianus gr. 204, with no supplementary material. The same volume also contains Nicetas' catena on Hebrews.

### *1.5.3 Explanation of Migne's work (1893)*

With regard to the Pauline Epistles in particular, the first printed catena on the epistles, as noted above, was published in 1532 at Verona by Bernardus Donatus. It is a catena known by the name of (Ps-) Oecumenius,<sup>103</sup> patterned after the Catena Aurea of Thomas Aquinas.<sup>104</sup> Donatus' work was re-edited and translated into Latin by Morellus in

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<sup>103</sup> Turner says Oecumenius, Mühlenberg says (Ps'eudo') Oecumenius. See respectively Turner, C. H., "Greek Patristic Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles", in *A Dictionary of the Bible*, edited by J. Hastings, New York: Charles Scribner's sons, 1905, pp. 484-531; Mühlenberg, E., "Katenen", in *Theologische Realencyclopädie* 18, Berlin – New York : Walter de Gruyter, 1989, p.16.

<sup>104</sup> Mühlenberg, E., "Katenen", in *Theologische Realencyclopädie* 18, Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1989, p.16

1633: this is the edition reproduced by Migne in 1893 in the volume 118 of the series *Patrologia Graeca*.

#### *1.5.4. Explanation of Staab's work*

##### *1.5.4.1. Die Pauluskatenen (1926)*

Staab's work "*Die Pauluskatenen*" (1926) was a very serious attempt at gathering, grouping and studying manuscripts of several Pauline catena types. He studied Typus Vaticanus, Typus Monacensis, Typus Parisinus, and the catenae of Nicetas, Pseudo-Oecumenius and Theophylact. He was interested not only in their types and character, but also in any possible relationship among the types. He also studied a few more manuscripts that do not fit into any tradition, such as Athonensis Pantokratoros 28 (GA 1739), which is also very important for New Testament textual criticism.

##### *1.5.4.2. Pauluskommentare aus der Griechischen Kirche (1933)*

In his work "*Pauluskommentare aus der Griechischen Kirche*" (1933) Staab tried to reconstruct commentaries on Pauline Letters by Church Fathers from extracts found in catenae. He gathered together scholia that he had detected during his work on catena manuscripts for: Didymus the Blind, Eusebius of Emesa, Acacius of Caesarea, Apollinarius from Laodicea, Diodorus of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Severian of Gabbala, Gennadius of Constantinople, Oecumenius, Photius and Arethas of Caesarea.

Staab collected the scholia for the edition of the above-mentioned commentators from the following manuscripts:

<b>Mss</b>	<b>GA number</b>	<b>Type</b> (see Staab, 1926)
Vat. gr. 762	1915	Typus Vaticanus
Monac. gr. 412	1909	Typus Monacensis
Paris. Coisl. 204	1910	Typus Parisinus
Athous Pantokratoros 28	1900	Unique
Vindob. theol.gr. 166	1953	
Ambros. E 2 inf.	1983	Niketas
Paris. gr. 238	1938	Niketas
Vat. gr. 1430	622	Pseudo-Oecumenian
Vat. Palat. gr. 10	1997	Pseudo-Oecumenian
Vat. gr. 2062	627	Pseudo-Oecumenian
Vat. Barber. gr. 574	1986	Pseudo-Oecumenian
Vat. Palat. gr. 204	1998	Pseudo-Oecumenian
Marcianus gr. 546	617	Pseudo-Oecumenian
Marcianus gr. 33	1923	Pseudo-Oecumenian
Ambros. D 541 inf	1982	Pseudo-Oecumenian
Ambros. C 295 inf.	1981	Pseudo-Oecumenian
Paris. gr. 219	91	Pseudo-Oecumenian
Oxford Magdal. Coll. 7 (for Rom – 2 Cor 1:12)	-	Pseudo-Oecumenian
Cambridge Univ. Libr. F f I 30 (for 2 Cor 1:13 – Hebr)	-	Pseudo-Oecumenian
Oxf. Bodl. Misc. 185 (=	-	

Auct. T I, 7)		
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Table 5: Manuscripts for Staab's edition (1933)

Staab after the completion of his book in 1926 and before the edition of the fragments of Pauline commentaries in 1933 he had the chance to consult and study twenty-three more manuscripts from Greece, England, Germany and Austria. He provided the description of these manuscripts in his edition of 1933 and he used some of these for his edition. These manuscripts are the following:

<b>Mss</b>	<b>GA number</b>
Athens, National Library 138	2013
Athens, National Library 100	075
Athens, National Library 207	1360
Athens, National Library 490	254
Athens, National Library 96	1973
London, British Library Add. 22734	641
London, British Library Add. 7142	1956
London, British Library Add. 39599	911
London, British Library, Arundel 534	1961
Oxford, Bodl. Roe 16	1908
Oxford, Bodl. Misc. 185 (= Auct. T. I. 7)	-
Oxford, Bodl. Misc. 74 (= Auct. E. V. 9)	325
Oxford, Bodl. Barocc. 3	314
Oxford, Coll. Nov. 59	327

Oxford, Bodl. Cromwell 7	-
Oxford, Bodl. Misc. 179 (= Auct. T. I. 1)	-
Oxford, Bodl. Grabe 22	-
Oxford Magdal. Coll. gr. 7 (for Rom – 2 Cor 1:12)	1907
Cambridge Univ. Libr. F f I 30 (for 2 Cor 1:13 – Hebr)	1907
Basel, A. N. III. 11	2817
Dresden, A 104	101 and /1551
Vindob. theol. gr. 302	424

Table 6: Pauline catena manuscripts that Staab accessed after his publication in 1926.

### *1.5.5 Explanation of the work of Nikodemus the Hagiorite*

In 1806 Nikodemus the Hagiorite (of Mount Athos, or of Naxos), published what he called an “intralingual” translation of commentaries on the Catholic Epistles.<sup>105</sup> A similar volume on the Pauline letters followed in 1819.<sup>106</sup> Both “intralingual” and “commentaries” call for further explanation. An intralingual translation is a translation

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<sup>105</sup> Νικόδημου Ἀγιορείτου, Ἑρμηνεῖα εἰς τὰς ἑπτὰ Καθολικὰς ἐπιστολὰς τῶν Ἀγίων καὶ Πανευφύμων Ἀποστόλων Ἰακώβου, Πέτρου, Ἰωάννου, καὶ Ἰούδα, ἥτις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐν μοναχοῖς ἐλαχίστου Νικοδήμου Ἀγιορείτου ἐκ διαφόρων συνερανισθεῖσα, Venice: Τύποις Πάνου Θεοδοσίου τοῦ ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων, 1806.

<sup>106</sup> Νικόδημου Ἀγιορείτου, Παύλου τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἐνδόξου αἱ ἸΔ΄ ἐπιστολαὶ ἐρμηνευθεῖσαι μὲν ἑλληνιστὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ μακαρίου Θεοφυλάκτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Βουλγαρίας, μεταφρασθεῖσαι δὲ εἰς τὴν καθ’ ἡμᾶς κοινοτέραν διάλεκτον, καὶ σημειώμασι διαφόροις καταγλαῖσθαι, παρὰ τοῦ ἐν μακαρίᾳ τῇ λήξει γενομένου Νικοδήμου Ἀγιορείτου, v. 1 Τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους καὶ τὴν πρὸς Κορινθίους Πρώτην περιέχων, ὅτινι προσετέθησαν εἰς Κανὼν Παρακλητικὸς εἰς τοὺς IB΄ Ἀποστόλους, καὶ Οἵκοι ΚΔ΄ εἰς τοὺς Κορυφαίους Πέτρον καὶ Παῦλον, φιλοπονηθέντες παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Μεταφραστοῦ, v. 2 Τὴν πρὸς Κορινθίους Δευτέραν, τὴν πρὸς Γαλάτας, τὴν πρὸς Ἐφεσίους, τὴν πρὸς Φιλιππησίους, καὶ τὴν πρὸς Κολοσσαεῖς περιέχων, Venice: Νικόλαος Γλυκὺς, 1819.

from an older form of one language to a more modern form of the same language, in this case Greek. Commentaries written in the high style, similar to the ancient Greek language, were translated into the form of the Greek language that was more comprehensible and simple for contemporary readers. As for the phrase “a commentary”, it should not be perceived as a literary term, since for his work in the Catholic Epistles Nikodemus was not translating from a single commentary, but combining three sources never found in the same manuscript. In effect, then Nikodemus is compiling a new catena. As he says:

*«συνερανίσθην τῇν Ἑρμηνείαν ταύτην τῶν Καθολικῶν Ἐπιστολῶν, ἐκ τῶν τριῶν Ἑρμηνευτῶν. ὡς ἐπιτοπλεῖστον (sic.) μὲν σχεδὸν πανταχοῦ, ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ Μητροφάνους. πολλάκις δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ Θεοφυλάκτου, ὀλιγάκις δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Οἰκουμενίου»<sup>107</sup>*

The three sources for the Catholic Epistles were thus the commentary by Metrophanes of Smyrna, Theophylact's catena and, less frequently, Oecumenius. Nikodemus repeatedly states that Oecumenius is covered by Theophylact. The idea that Theophylact preceded Oecumenius is repeated in Nikodemus' work on the Pauline catena: «ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ μετὰ τὸν Ἱερὸν Θεοφύλακτον ἀκμάσας Οἰκουμένιος».<sup>108</sup> Nikodemus also adds that for the times that he uses Oecumenius is only because he gives an alternative interpretation for some verses and this interpretation can be used to support further Nikodemus' material.

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<sup>107</sup> Nikodemus, p. 157' .

<sup>108</sup> Nikodemus (1819) t. 1, p. 11'.



Nikodemus also admits that he tried to enhance the text with additions, omissions and changes (characteristics which he says should feature in a good modern translation in any language). The reason he gives is that Theophylact's interpretation is in many cases so short that, if he was translating word for word, it would have remained obscure. Finally, because of the shortage of witnesses, he supplies additional material from the Bible and the Church Fathers, which he acknowledges and is obvious to anyone who wants to compare the original texts with the modern translation:

*«Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ σαφήνεια, καὶ ἡ πολλὴ συντομία εἶναι δύο πράγματα ἐνάντια· ὁ δὲ Ἱερὸς Θεοφύλακτος ἐμεταχειρίσθη εἰς πάμπολλα μέρη τῆς ἐρμηνείας του πολλὴν συντομίαν, διὰ τὴν ὁποίαν ἠκολούθει να μὴ σαφηνίζεται καθαρῶς τὸ νόημα, καὶ μάλιστα εἰς τὸ ἀπλοῦν μεθερμηνευόμενον· διὰ τοῦτο ἐγὼ εἰς ὅποια μέρη εὔρον ἀσάφειαν τῶν νοημάτων διὰ τὴν συντομίαν, ἤνοιξα ὀλίγον τὰ κεκλεισμένα, καὶ ἐπλάτυνα τὰ συντετμημένα, με προσθήκας, με ἀφαιρέσεις, καὶ με μεταβολάς, μόνον καὶ μόνον διὰ να κάνω εἰς τοὺς ἀπλοὺς ἀδερφοὺς μου σαφὴ τὰ νοήματα· ἐπειδὴ ἂν κατὰ τὴν λέξιν μόνην μετέφραζα τὰ σύντομα ταῦτα μέρη ἀπὸ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν, παντάπασιν ἔμενε τὸ νόημα σκοτεινὸν· καὶ ἀγκαλὰ εἰς κάθε γλώσσης μετάφρασιν χρειάζεται πάντοτε να γίνεται προσθήκη τις, καὶ ἀφαίρεσις, καὶ μεταβολή, διὰ τοὺς ξεχωριστοὺς ἰδιωτισμοὺς ἐκάστης· ἐδῶ ὅμως καὶ διὰ τὴν συντομίαν, αἱ προσθήκαι ἔτι ὀλίγον ἀυξήθησαν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ εἰς τινὰ μέρη, ἦτον ἐλλείψεις μαρτυριῶν ἀναγκαίων τῆς Θείας Γραφῆς, καὶ νοημάτων ἀρμοζόντων εἰς τὴν προκείμενην ὑπόθεσιν, διὰ*

τοῦτο ἀνεπλήρωσα καὶ ταύτας ἔκ τε τῶν Θείων Γραφῶν, καὶ τῶν  
Τερῶν Πατέρων, καθῶς τοῦτο δύναται νὰ ἰδῇ κάθε ἕνας, ὅς τις ἤθελε  
παραβάλλῃ τὴν μετάφρασιν ταύτην μετὰ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν.»<sup>109</sup>

And, Nikodemus continues, as if he were trying to convince people to buy his work, in this way readers will also have the commentaries by Chrysostom, Theodoret, John of Damascus, Oecumenius, Photius and others that can be found in the text and even more in the form of notes:

«ἀποτολμῶ νὰ σᾶς εἰπῶ, Ἀδελφοί, ὅτι μαζὶ μετὰ τὴν Ἑρμηνείαν ταύτην  
τοῦ μακαρίου Θεοφυλάκτου, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς Ἑρμηνείας τοῦ Χρυσορρήμονος,  
τοῦ Θεοδορίτου, τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ Ἰωάννου, τοῦ Οἰκουμένιου, τοῦ Φωτίου,  
καὶ ἄλλων Πατέρων, θέλετε ἀποκτήσει, ὡς καὶ κείνας ἐν ταύτῃ, καὶ μάλιστα  
ἐν ταῖς ὑποσημειώσεσι, συντόμως περιεχομένας.»<sup>110</sup>

Proof that he takes into account not only all the names given in the commentary, but also the commentaries themselves is shown by his combination of the *hypothesis* and the *prooemium* (attributed to Theodoret in the manuscripts) as a single *argumentum*, which he describes as: «Ὑπόθεσις τῆς πρὸς Γαλάτας Ἐπιστολῆς κατὰ τὸν Χρυσόστομον, Θεοδώριτον, Θεοφύλακτον, καὶ Οἰκουμένιον.» (=The hypothesis of the Epistle to the Galatians according to Chrysostom, Theodoret, Theophylact and Oecumenius). He puts the names in what he believes is the right chronological order. As has already been mentioned, he believes that Oecumenius lived after Theophylact. But what is rather

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<sup>109</sup> Nikodemus (1819) t. 1, p. ιη´–ιθ´.

<sup>110</sup> Nikodemus (1819) t. 1, p. ιθ´.

intriguing is that he recognizes that these texts or part of these can be found in the works of Chrysostom, Oecumenius and Theophylact and is aware there is some kind of relationship between them. His translation of the hypothesis could thus correspond to a fictional collation of the text, which had never happened, yet in a way alluded to their relationship in a very diplomatic way.<sup>111</sup> Agnès Lorrain, in her recent article “Des prologues bibliques d’origine chrysostomienne: Les Arguments attribués à Théodoret et à Théophylacte sur les épîtres pauliniennes” has shown that the *argumenta* to the Pauline Epistles that are found in the catena of Oecumenius just before the analysis of the verses,

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<sup>111</sup> This is the translation/ paraphrase for Gal. 1.1:

Παρευθὺς εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ταύτης ἀναιρεῖ ὁ Παῦλος πῶς δὲν εἶναι Μαθητὴς καὶ Ἀποστολὸς τῶν ἀνθρώπων· δι’ ὅ,τι λέγει, πῶς δὲν ἐκαλέσθη ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ’ ἄνωθεν καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν Οὐρανόν· καὶ ὅχι διὰ μέσου τινος ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ἐπειδὴ, ἐβάπτισε μὲν αὐτὸν, Ἀνανίας ὁ Ἀπόστολος, ἀλλὰ δὲν ἐκάλεσεν ἀπὸ τὸν Οὐρανὸν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ μεσημεριοῦ, διὰ τῆς ὑπερ ἡλίου λαμπύσης φοβερᾶς ὀπτασίας ἐκείνης. ( Πράξ. θ´. ) Διὰ τὸ δὲ, δὲν εἶπε, Παῦλος κλητὸς, καθὼς γράφει εἰς τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους , καὶ πρὸς Κορινθίους Ἐπιστολὴν , ἀλλὰ εἶπεν Παῦλος Ἀπόστολος; Διὰ τὸ περὶ τούτου ἦτον ὅλη ἡ ὑπόθεσις τοῦ λόγου, με τὸ νὰ ἔλεγον οἱ ἐξ Ἰουδαίων νεωστὶ πιστεύσαντες, ὅτι ὁ Παῦλος ἐψηφίσθη ἀπὸ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους Ἀπόστολος, καὶ ὅχι ἀπὸ τὸν Χριστὸν ἀμέσως, ὡς προείπομεν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν τῇ ὑποθέσει τῆς Ἐπιστολῆς ταύτης. Εἰς τὸν λόγον λοιπὸν τοῦτον ἐναντιοῦμενος ὁ Παῦλος, ἔγραψε τὸ, Ἀπόστολος, δείχνωντας με τοῦτο, ὅτι δὲν ἦτον μαθητὴς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὔτε ἦτον ἀπὸ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ψηφισμένος ἀπόστολος.

Αἱ μὲν Πράξεις τῶν Ἀποστόλων φανερόνουνσι ὅτι ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐδιωρίσθη ὁ Παῦλος Ἀπόστολος· «λειτουργούντων γὰρ φησὶν, αὐτῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ, καὶ νηστευόντων, εἶπε τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον· ἀφορίσατε δὴ μοι τὸν τε Βαρνάβαν, καὶ τὸν Σαῦλον, εἰς τὸ ἔργον ὃ προσκέκλημαι αὐτούς». (Acts 13.2) Ἐδῶ δὲ λέγει ὁ Παῦλος, ὅτι ἐδιωρίσθη Ἀπόστολος ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, διὰ νὰ μάθωμεν ἡμεῖς, ὅτι μία εἶναι ἡ ἐξουσία Πατρὸς, Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος τῆς ἀδιαιρέτου καὶ ὁμοουσίου Ἁγίας Τριάδος. Ἄλλως τε δὲ, καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν Υἱὸν ἀπεστάλη· αὐτὸς γὰρ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν· «πορεύου ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰς Ἑθνη μακρὰν ἐξαποστελῶ σε». (Acts 22.21) Σημείωσαι δὲ ὅτι ἡ, διὰ, πρόθεσις εὐρίσκεται ἐδῶ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς· καὶ ὅτι πρῶτον ὁ Υἱὸς ἐτάχθη ἀπὸ τὸν Πατέρα....

and which later on were used by Theophylact, are without doubt summaries of John Chrysostom's *argumenta* to the Pauline letters.<sup>112</sup>

In order to show the diachronic re-use of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena in other forms of the Greek language, and to demonstrate that much later witnesses attribute forms of text to the correct source and can therefore be used to identify these sources and, potentially, preserve original material otherwise lost, a comparison is provided here of Nikodemus and Theophylact. The sample below covers Galatians 1.13. The word for word translation in Nikodemus' text is in bold letters, whereas all the rest of the text is Nikodemus' additions so as to facilitate a better translation, filling any possible gaps in the meaning.

THEOPHYLACT:

NIKODEMUS:

Gal. 1.13a «Ἦκούσατε γὰρ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀναστροφὴν ποτε ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῳ»

Πόθεν δῆλον ὅτι δι' ἀποκαλύψεως θείας παρέλαβον τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον; Ἐκ τῆς προτέρας μου ἀναστροφῆς. Ὁ γὰρ τοιοῦτος διώκτης, πῶς ἂν ἀθρόως μετεβλήθην, εἰ μὴ θεία τις ἀποκάλυψις εἰλκυσέ με; Ὅτι γὰρ σφοδρὸς ἤμην διώκτης, δῆλον ἀπὸ τοῦ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀκούσαι τοὺς Γαλάτας, τοὺς τοσοῦτον διεστηκότας τῆς Ἰουδαίας.

**Πόθεν εἶναι φανερόν ὅτι μὲ θείαν ἀποκάλυψιν παρέλάβον** ἐγὼ ὁ Παῦλος **τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον; ἀπὸ τὴν προτέραν μου** ζωὴν καὶ **ἀναστροφὴν· διότι ἐγὼ ὁ τόσον μέγας διώκτης τῶν Χριστιανῶν, πῶς τόσον ὀγλίγωρα ἤθελα μεταβληθῶ** εἰς τὴν πίστιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, **ἀνίσως δὲν ἤθελε μὲ τραβίξῃ εἰς αὐτόν, θεϊκὴ καὶ ὑπερφυσικὴ ἀποκάλυψις; ὅτι δὲ ἤμουν μέγας καὶ θερμὸς διώκτης Χριστοῦ,**

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<sup>112</sup> A. Lorrain, «Des prologues bibliques d'origine chrysostomienne : Les Arguments attribués à Théodoret et à Théophylacte sur les épîtres pauliniennes», *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum*, 19, 2015, p. 481-501.

καὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, φανερόν εἶναι καὶ ἀπὸ ἐσᾶς τοὺς Γαλάτας, οἱ ὅποιοι καὶ μᾶλλον ὅπου ἀπέχετε ἀπὸ τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τόσον πολὺ διάστημα τόπου, ἠκούσατε ὅμως σφοδρὰν καταδρομὴν καὶ τὸν διωγμὸν ὅπου ἐποιοῦν ἐναντίον εἰς τοὺς Χριστιανούς, καθὼς ἐρμηνεύει ὁ Σευηριανός.

Gal. 1.13b «Ὅτι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐδίωκον τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἐπόρθουν αὐτήν.»

Ὅρα πῶς ἕκαστον μετὰ ἐπιτάσεως τίθησιν. Οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν, Ἐδίωκον, ἀλλὰ, Μεθ' ὑπερβολῆς πάσης. Καὶ οὐ μόνον τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ, «Ἐπόρθουν·» τουτέστι, Κατασκάψαι ἐπεχείρον, καὶ ἀφανίσαι· τοῦτο γὰρ πορθητοῦ ἔργον.

**Βλέπε πῶς** ἐδῶ ὁ Ἀπόστολος **ἔβαλε κάθε μίαν λέξιν μὲ αὐξησιν· δι' ὅ,τι δὲν εἶπεν, ὅτι ἐδίωκον ἀπλῶς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐδίωκον μὲ κάθε ὑπερβολήν· καὶ δὲν ἠρκέσθη εἰς μόνον τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ ἐπρόσθεσε καὶ ὅτι ἐπόρθουν αὐτήν, ἡγουν ἐπεχείρουν νὰ κατασκάψω, καὶ νὰ τὴν ἀφανίσω· τοῦτο γὰρ εἶναι τὸ ἔργον ἐκείνου ὅπου πορθεῖ κἄμμίαν πόλιν καὶ κάστρον, τὸ νὰ κατασκάψῃ, καὶ νὰ ἀφανίσῃ αὐτήν.**

## 1.6 Conclusion

In this introductory chapter on Greek biblical catenae in general, with particular reference to catenae on the New Testament and especially the Pauline catenae, we have tried to outline developments from the sixteenth century to the twenty-first century. Efforts were made both for editions of texts and studies of the broader field. The editions were mostly based on only one manuscript, with some reusing or based on a previously published one. In many cases, this was probably due to lack of means. Nevertheless, in many cases these editions remain in scholarly use. With regard to studies of the genre, the

achievements are more impressive. Each study has added a little piece of knowledge, building up a greater sense of the whole picture.

## 2. On Staab's types of the Pseudo-Oecumenian Pauline Catenae

In 1926 Karl Staab published his monograph on the Pauline catenae. His introduction defines his aim as the overview of the history of exegesis in the Byzantine era and the development of criteria to separate one catena from another. These are threefold. Firstly, the presence or absence of authors' names identifying the sources quoted gives two groups of catenae. Secondly, he distinguishes them as earlier and later catenae according to the time that they were written. Thirdly, Staab identifies the anonymous catenae according to the location of the main representative manuscript (Typus Vaticanus, Monacensis, Parisinus), whilst the compiler's name is used when present (Nicetas, Oecumenius, Theophylact). He also tries to categorise the manuscripts in five Oecumenian types. As Staab uses the prefix "Pseudo-", to explain the relationship among these five types in simple terms, in accordance with the use of the umbrella term "Ps-Oecumenian tradition" in scholarship, the term "Ps-Oecumenian type" will also be used in this paper to refer to this particular group of Staab's types.

Staab gives information for all the epistles of the manuscripts of the Pseudo-Oecumenian tradition that he studied. It is evident that he puts some stress on the first three epistles (Romans, 1 Corinthians and 2 Corinthians), because he believes that he could establish some connection or relevance or some kind of lineage with typus Vaticanus and more especially with the main representative of this type, cod. Vaticanus gr. 762 that contains these first three Pauline epistles only. It must be noted here that two more epistles, Galatians and Ephesians, can be found in only one witness of typus Vaticanus, the cod. Vat. Gr. 692.

## 2.1. Methodology

For the purpose of this thesis I will examine one epistle only in the Pseudo-Oecumenian tradition, namely Galatians. I will attempt to establish a more concrete relationship between the manuscripts. I will be referring to fifty-one manuscripts. Most of these are manuscripts that also Staab used in his work and it was possible to be established some further or different connection between them. I will also give the Gregory-Aland number in parenthesis (GA) next to the institutional name and shelf-number of the manuscripts. Since any relationship shown here concerns the construction or text of the catena in these manuscripts, it might be of some help to New Testament textual criticism to understand any genealogical relationship of the biblical text of these manuscripts.

The selection of manuscripts for this part of the thesis is based on the presence or absence of the *Corpus Extravagantium* or the *Scholia Photiana*. Regarding the *Corpus Extravagantium*, we should say that the term derives from Staab who used the term “Extravagantes” from Canon Law to describe the unnumbered comments that are found next to those of the Pseudo-Oecumenian tradition that are numbered. These comments from *Corpus Extravagantium* usually have signs in front of them, but can also be found without a sign in front of them, and other times with nothing at all. The *Scholia Photiana* on the other hand, that Staab calls ‘Photiana’, are comments that are attributed to Photius (810-891), Patriarch of Constantinople (in two periods 858–867 and 877–886). His most important work is *Myriobiblos* (also known as *Bibliotheca*), a collection of extracts and abridgments of works of classical authors, historical writers and Church Fathers. Thanks to this work we have in fragmentary form works which are otherwise lost and information



about these. Not only *Myriobiblos* but also his other works *Amphilochia* (a collection of question and answers on difficult points in Scripture) and a *Lexicon* (Λέξεων Συναγωγή) are all in some kind of compilatory form.

The manuscripts used in this section are listed in the following table:

mss	GA	Holding institution	City	Date
Lavras L 172	1772	Monastery of Great Lavra	Mount Athos	XIV
Vatopedinus 593	2189	Monastery of Vatopedi	Mount Athos	XII
Basil. A. N. III. 11	2817	Universitätsbibliothek	Basel	XI
Oecum. Patriarch. ex Chalki Kamariotissis 33	1871	Oecumenical Patriarchate	Istanbul	XI
Laur. Conv. Soppr.191	619	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	Florence	984
Laur. Plut. IV.1	454	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	Florence	X
Laur. Plut. IX.10	2007	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	Florence	XI
Laur. Plut. VIII.19	–	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	Florence	XII
Laur. Plut. X.19	1922	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	Florence	XIII
Laur. Plut. X.6	1920	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	Florence	X
Laur. Plut. X.7	1921	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	Florence	XI
Add. 22734	641	British Library	London	XI
Add. 29599	911	British Library	London	XII
Ambros. B. 6 inf.	1941	Biblioteca Ambrosiana	Milan	XIII
Ambros. C. 295 inf.	1981	Biblioteca Ambrosiana	Milan	XI
Ambros. D. 541 inf.	1982	Biblioteca Ambrosiana	Milan	XI
Monac. gr. 375	0142	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek	Munich	X
Mosc. Sinod. gr. 098 (Vlad. 94)	1927	Государственный исторический музей (State Historical Museum)	Moscow	X
Oxon. Bodl. Roe 16	1908	Bodleian Library	Oxford	XI

Paris. Coislin. gr. 217	1972	Bibliothèque nationale de France	Paris	XIII
Paris. Coislin. gr. 26	056	Bibliothèque nationale de France	Paris	X
Paris. Coislin. gr. 27	1905	Bibliothèque nationale de France	Paris	X
Paris. Coislin. gr. 28	1906	Bibliothèque nationale de France	Paris	XI
Paris. Coislin. gr. 30	1970	Bibliothèque nationale de France	Paris	XII
Paris. Coislin. gr. 95	1971	Bibliothèque nationale de France	Paris	XII
Paris. gr. 237	82	Bibliothèque nationale de France	Paris	X
Paris. gr. 101	468	Bibliothèque nationale de France	Paris	XIII
Paris. gr. 218	607	Bibliothèque nationale de France	Paris	XI
Paris. gr. 219	91	Bibliothèque nationale de France	Paris	XI
Paris. gr. 222	1932	Bibliothèque nationale de France	Paris	XI
Paris. gr. 223	1933	Bibliothèque nationale de France	Paris	XI
Paris. gr. 224	1934	Bibliothèque nationale de France	Paris	XIII
Ioannou gr. 15	1162	Monastery of St. John	Patmos	XI
Sinait. gr. 282	1879	Monastery of St. Cathrine	Sinai	XI
Vat. Barb. gr. 503	1952	Biblioteca Vaticana	Vatican City	XIV
Vat. Barb. gr. 574	1986	Biblioteca Vaticana	Vatican City	XII
Vat. Chis. R VIII 55 (gr. 46)	1951	Biblioteca Vaticana	Vatican City	XII
Vat. gr. 1430	622	Biblioteca Vaticana	Vatican City	XII
Vat. gr. 2062	627	Biblioteca Vaticana	Vatican City	XII
Vat. gr. 3	–	Biblioteca Vaticana	Vatican City	XV
Vat. gr. 761	1914	Biblioteca Vaticana	Vatican City	XI
Vat. gr. 765	1916	Biblioteca Vaticana	Vatican City	XI
Vat. gr. 766	1917	Biblioteca Vaticana	Vatican City	XII
Vat. gr. 873	–	Biblioteca Vaticana	Vatican City	XIV
Vat. gr. 875	–	Biblioteca Vaticana	Vatican City	XV

Vat. Ottob. gr. 31	1946	Biblioteca Vaticana	Vatican City	XI
Vat. Palatinus gr. 10	1997	Biblioteca Vaticana	Vatican City	X
Vat. Palatinus gr. 204	1998	Biblioteca Vaticana	Vatican City	X
Marcianus gr. Z. 33 (423)	1923	Biblioteca Marciana	Venice	XI
Marcianus gr. Z. 34 (349)	1924	Biblioteca Marciana	Venice	XI
Marcianus gr. Z. 35 (343)	1925	Biblioteca Marciana	Venice	XI

Table 7: Manuscripts for the study of the stages of the creation of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena

A hybrid edition has been prepared, featuring all the patristic extracts found in the manuscripts that have been studied. Because of the length of the text, it will be placed after the end of the thesis, as Appendix I, with five columns. The first two columns refer to the numbers of the chapter and the verse of Galatian. In the fifth column first comes in bold the biblical text that is being commented and then, in regular type, the respective comment. In the fourth column stands the Greek number that usually accompanies this comment, whereas in the fifth column I have given a number to each comment, which I will use in this thesis, when I refer to a comment.

## 2.2. Staab's "Normal Typus"

According to Staab the manuscripts that are grouped under the Pseudo-Oecumenian "Normal Type" are actually the majority of the members of the Oecumenian family<sup>113</sup> and in general they share similarities in terms of structure, features, text layout and the way that their text begins (initia). The first words of the first comment of the first

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<sup>113</sup> Staab 1926, 100.

epistle of the *Corpus Paulinum*, i.e. Romans provide a means of grouping the manuscripts. Witnesses to Staab's Pseudo-Oecumenian "Normal Typus" start with «Τὸ ἀποῦσι γράφειν αἴτιον τοῦ κεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα...» or the slight variant «Τίνοϛ ἔνεκεν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα.».».

Although this type is considered as the 'normal type', this is only a norm set by Staab. In this type all the extracts are numbered, with the exception of some comments that have signs instead of numbers in front of them as well as some other comments that are attributed to certain authors and have their names in front of them.<sup>114</sup> It is evident, however, that these exceptional comments were later additions to a pre-existing catena, an "Urtyp" as it is characterized by Staab.<sup>115</sup> Another feature of the "Normal Type" catena manuscripts is that these additional extracts are independent of each other, with no connections made between them.

It is possible to identify four subgroups among the manuscripts of Staab's Pseudo-Oecumenian "Normal Typus", with further divisions, based on the presence or absence of those scholia that constitute the "*Corpus extravagantium*", as Staab calls it,<sup>116</sup> and how these are presented. These scholia were simply inserted into an existing catena in which the extracts were numbered. Yet there are various ways in which they have been integrated. In some cases, they are present in the manuscript as a paratextual feature in the manuscript; in others they are part of the text but unnumbered; in others they are part of

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<sup>114</sup> Oecumenius, ΘΕΟΔ (Gal 4.2), ΓΕΝΝΑΔ (Gal 4.3)

<sup>115</sup> Staab 1926, p. 195.

<sup>116</sup> Staab 1926, p. 101.

the text but with a number; finally in others they are hidden as additions to an existing numbered scholion.

Using the first chapter of Galatians, where only two additional comments (*Extravaganten*) are found, I started to investigate the possibility of establishing a relationship between the manuscripts of the “Normal Typus”. The first is a comment on the phrase «ἐκ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος αἰῶνος πονηροῦ» (Gal. 1.4)

*Διὰ τοῦ εἰπεῖν ἐνεστῶτος αἰῶνος πονηροῦ ἔδειξεν ὅτι τὸ κακὸν οὐκ ἀγέννητον, οὐδὲ αἰδιον, ἀλλὰ πρόσκαιρον.*

This is normally found after the tenth numbered comment and for the purpose of this study it will be called “10a”. The second comments on the word «Ἰουδαϊσμῷ» (Gal. 1.13). It is attributed to Severian in most of the manuscripts and reads:

*Τίς χρεία τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ ἀναστροφῆς· ἀλλ’ ἵνα δείξη· ὅτι οὐ προλήψει δουλεύει, ἀλλὰ ἀληθεία· οὐ γὰρ μισήσας τὸν νόμον ὑπέδραμεν τὴν χάριν· ἐξεδίδκει γὰρ αὐτὸν, ἀλλ’ εὐρῶν τὸ τέλειον ἀπέστη τοῦ νόμου.*

This is placed normally after the twenty-fifth comment of the original comments of the basic form of the Pseudo-Oecumenian tradition, so for the purpose of this study it has been given the number “25a”.

### **2.2.1. First group**

It seems that the additional comments initially appeared with or without a sign in front of them, in order to be distinguished from the numbered comments, and were later given a number. Thus, starting first with the manuscripts that the comments have a sign in

front and when available by the name of their author, we subgroup the manuscripts as follows:

- a) The comment 10a has a sign only whereas in the comment 25a the sign is accompanied with the name of the supposed author of the extract “Σενηρ” (that is Severian). In this subgroup belong not only the following seven manuscripts that Staab used for his study, but also five more that were identified as Pseudo-Oecumenian catena by von Soden:<sup>117</sup>

***Staab’s manuscripts***

Laurentianus Conv. Soppr. 191 (GA 619), Laurentianus Pluteus X.7 (GA 1921), Vaticanus gr. 766 (GA 1917), Vaticanus Ottobonianus gr. 31 (GA 1946), Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 10 (GA 1997), Vaticanus Chis. R VIII 55 (gr. 46) (GA 1951), Parisinus Coislinianus gr. 28 (GA 1906).

***Additional witnesses***

Londonensis BL Add. 39599 (GA 911, von Soden O<sup>29</sup>), Moscovensis Sinod. gr. 098 (Vlad. 94) (GA 1927, von Soden O<sup>π6</sup>), Oxoniensis Bodl. Roe 16 (GA 1908, von Soden O<sup>π103</sup>), Patmiacus Ioannou gr. 15 (GA 1162, von Soden O<sup>π29</sup>), Constantinopolitanus Oecumenical Patriarchat, ex Chalki, Kamariotissis 33 (GA 1871, von Soden O<sup>20</sup>), Athonensis Lavras L 172 (GA 1772, von Soden E<sup>π30</sup>).

All the aforementioned manuscripts are dated between the tenth and the twelfth centuries, with the exception of Athoniensis Lavras L 172 (GA 1772) which is dated to the fourteenth century and which von Soden categorised as an anonymous

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<sup>117</sup> Soden, H.F. von, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments, I. Teil: Untersuchungen, I. Abteilung: Die Textzeugen*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911, pp. 270-278.

catena,<sup>118</sup> possibly because it does not have the usual appearance of a frame catena as all the rest of this group, but is an alternating one with numbered blocks of text. Among the characteristics, which they share, all are laid out as frame catenae, and before Galatians they all have ὑπόθεσιν, προοίμιον (except GA 1917) and the titles of the chapters in the top margin of the page in which that chapter begins (except GA 1951 and GA 1908); none of them has a list of chapter titles in the body of the text before the epistle, with the exception of Parisinus Coislinianus gr. 28 (GA 1906). Concerning the numbering, the comments are numbered from α' to ρ' (1-100) and after ρ' start again from α'.

- b) Parisinus Coislinianus gr. 30 (GA 1970) shares all the aforementioned characteristics with the difference that it splits comment number 10 in two halves and joins its second half with the additional comment 10a. Thus the result is the following comment with a sign in front of it:

*“Οὕτως γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰώθαμεν, ὅταν τι τῶν ἀδοκῆτων ἡμῖν συμβῇ, κακὴν φησὶν ἡμέραν ἐποίησα· διὰ τοῦ εἰπεῖν ἐνεστῶτος αἰῶνος πονηροῦ ἔδειξεν ὅτι τὸ κακὸν οὐκ ἀγέννητον, οὐδὲ αἰδιον, ἀλλὰ πρόσκαιρον”*

- c) Similar to the previous case, Mediolanensis Ambrosianus C. 295 inf. (GA 1981) and Vaticanus Barberinus gr. 574 (GA 1986) from the eleventh and twelfth centuries respectively join comments 10 and 10a in one with the letter ι' in front of them, while the comment 25a has only the name «Σευηριανοῦ» in front with no

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<sup>118</sup> Soden, H.F. von, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments, I. Teil: Untersuchungen, I. Abteilung: Die Textzeugen*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911, p. 283.

other sign. It should be mentioned that Staab considers Vaticanus Barberinus gr. 574 as a manuscript of “der erweiterte Typus” that is the expanded type.<sup>119</sup>

### *2.2.2. Second group*

A second group consists of two codices used by Staab in his work, Laurentianus Pluteus IX.10 (GA 2007) and Vaticanus gr. 761 (GA 1914), and one more that was not mentioned neither by Staab nor by von Soden, that is Basiliensis A. N. III. 11 (GA 2817). They are all dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In these manuscripts, comments 10a and 25a have no sign in front of them and also have no numbering system for the rest of the scholia. On the other hand, these manuscripts have a couple of differences between them. Firstly, Laurentianus Pluteus IX.10 (GA 2007) is an alternating catena, whereas Vaticanus gr. 761 (GA 1914) is a frame catena, and Basiliensis A. N. III. 11 (GA 2817) is a frame catena with repetitions of the biblical text. This difference is not substantial, although it helps us understand the reason that there is no sign in front of the comments. Second, GA 1914 omits the name of Severian. For this group it is difficult at this stage of the study to say whether or not the fact that the comments are unnumbered is a key for a genealogical relationship or just a coincidence.

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<sup>119</sup> Staab, 1926, 140–141.



### 2.2.3. Third group

In the third group there are seven frame catenae: Parisinus gr. 222 (GA 1932), Vaticanus Barberinianus gr. 503 (GA 1952), Parisinus gr. 224 (GA 1934), Athonensis Vatopedinus 593 (GA 2189), Vaticanus gr. 1430 (GA 622), Parisinus Coislinianus gr. 217 (GA 1972), Parisinus gr. 223 (GA 1933) and two alternating: Parisinus gr. 218 (GA 607) and Laurentianus Pluteus VIII.19. All range from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. In this group, the established catena absorbed the unnumbered comments by giving them numbers. In this case there are three recognisable subgroups. Although the comment 10a takes the number «α´» in all of them, the comment 25a (which is always preceded by the name of Severian) receives different numbers as follows:

- a) «κζ´» in the manuscripts: Parisinus gr. 222 (GA 1932), Vaticanus Barberinus gr. 503 (GA 1952) and Athonensis Vatopedinus 593 (GA 2189). This is the number that is normally expected to be used for this comment. In this subgroup the unnumbered comments are integrated without problems.
- b) «κς´». This is due to some anomaly in the numbering of the comments. Indeed, the comment that starts with «Βούλεται δεῖξαι...», twenty-second in row in the pre-existing catena, but twenty-third after the insertion of the *Corpus Extravagantium*, has here some irregularity.
  - a. In Parisinus gr. 218 (GA 607) the comment «Βούλεται δεῖξαι...» has no number. Its previous comment has the number «κβ´» (inc. Οὐ διὰ τὸ κολακεῦσαι... ) and the one that follows it has the number «κγ´» (inc. Κατὰ θεὸν γάρ ἐστι...). This is rather interesting since

the comment starts in a new line, with an uncial letter in the beginning and we also find a strong punctuation at the end of the previous comment. This irregularity is the reason that the comment 25a is numbered as «κζ´».

- b. Something similar happens with Vaticanus gr. 1430 (GA 622) with the difference that here the number «κβ´» is repeated. Thus, both comments «Βούλεται δεῖξαι...» and «Ὁὐ διὰ τὸ κολακεῦσαι...» are numbered as «κβ´». More specifically the comment «κβ´. Ὁὐ διὰ τὸ κολακεῦσαι...» is the last one on f. 104r and comment «κβ´. Βούλεται δεῖξαι...» is the first one on f. 104v. Since this happens at the turn of the page we should also consider in this case the reason that this happened. It could have happened for three reasons: i) Either the exemplar didn't have a number in front of the comment «Βούλεται δεῖξαι...» and the scribe deliberately added one, or ii) the scribe who was adding the numbers in front of the comments forgot that he already wrote «κβ´» on the previous page and continued repeating it on the following page, or iii) he copied from an exemplar that had exactly the same numbering repeating the number «κβ´».
- c. There is one more manuscript that could fit in this category although the comment 10a is numbered as «ι´» and the comment 25a has no number at all. The codex Laurentianus Pluteus VIII.19 (it has no GA number, because no biblical text has been copied, but only catena) seems to have been written by a not so careful scribe.

It supplies evidence of at least three stages in the copying procedure for this manuscript. First, the scribe copied the main body of the manuscript with brown ink and then wrote (or gave it to another scribe to write) the initial letters of the comments with red ink. After that, the scribe who wrote the initial letters wrote also the numbers of the comments. The latter must have been considered to be an easy task since in this catena all comments were to be numbered and it was easy to distinguish them, since they were all starting with an initial red letter. But this was not the case, because in many cases the initial letter had not been written, e.g. comment 2 (inc. Σημεύσαι τὸ διὰ...) or the scribe of the main body had already accidentally written it with brown ink, e.g. comment 26 (inc. Οὐκ ἐδίωκον μόνον...). The omission of the number for comment 2 caused the misnumbering of comment 10a, so instead of the expected number «α´» we find the number «ι´». As for comment 25a we have an interesting observation. Only the comments with Oecumenius' name receive a number: all other comments with their author's name remain unnumbered. This is the reason that the comment 25a has only Severianus' name in front of it. In any case, the main reason that this manuscript is categorised here is due to comment 22, the only comment in the epistle to *Galatians* that has a sign in front of it instead of a number. This feature resembles the previous two manuscripts with some kind of disorder. In all cases the comment 22 seems to be problematic for

the scribes or for a scribe at some point of the manuscript tradition and this has been repeated later on. However, more especially in this case any carelessness of the scribe was probably also due to the fact that he did not copy the biblical text too, not even phrases of it to which he would connect or attach the comments. Hence, copying only a bulk of comments with no reference made his work rather confusing and difficult.

- c) «ιϵ´» in Parisinus gr. 224 (GA 1934) or «ιγ´» in Parisinus Coislinianus gr. 217 (GA 1972) and Parisinus gr. 223 (GA 1933) as a result of an idiosyncratic numbering that starts from the beginning on every opening of the book (verso–recto), with the exception of the beginning of each book. This appertains to this group, because both original and additional comments are present and all of them are subject of one numbering, though not from «α´» to «ρ´» (1-100) and starting from «α´» again, as in all the other manuscripts. This is exactly the same with an alternative system for reference reliant on footnotes that start from 1 on each page. The inconsistency between the two numbers «ιϵ´» and «ιγ´» is first due to the quantity of the comments that are contained on each folio in every manuscript according to the space that the scribe has for the catena, the space between the lines or the size of the letters. Concerning the two manuscripts that have the same number «ιγ´», one happens to be a copy of the other. Coislinianus gr. 217 (GA 1972) is an *Abschrift* of Parisinus gr. 223 (GA 1933). Staab considered Parisinus gr. 223 as a manuscript of the

“erweiterter Typus” (= expanded type),<sup>120</sup> but further investigation showed that Photius’ name is only encountered four times in front of a comment in the Pauline corpus and always in the outer margins as a later addition (cf. ff. 7r, 38v, 46r and 88v). Staab wrongly says of this manuscript that the Scholia Photiana were written in the outer margins at the beginning of the manuscript and in the latter part were incorporated into the text.<sup>121</sup>

#### 2.2.4. *Fourth group*

Six more manuscripts constitute the fourth group of Staab’s Pseudo-Oecumenian normal type. These are: Laurentianus Pluteus X.19 (GA 1922), Laurentianus Pluteus IV.1 (GA 454), Laurentianus Pluteus X.6 (GA 1920), Sinaiticus gr. 282 (GA 1879), Mediolanensis Ambrosianus B. 6 inf. (GA 1941) and Parisinus Coislinianus gr. 95 (GA 1971). They are all frame catenae, except codex Parisinus Coislinianus gr. 95 (GA 1971) that is written in two columns; the inner, thinner one contains the biblical text, whereas the outer, wider one is for the catena. They all share a few more common characteristics. First of all, they have integrated the “corpus extravagantium” and given its comments numbers, as in the third group, but here the comment 10a is numbered as «1´» whereas the

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<sup>120</sup> Staab, 1926, 148–150.

<sup>121</sup> Staab gives two folia as examples that can be found incorporated Photiana scholia, f. 21v and 34v. After an examination of this claim, I can say that there is no comment under Photius’ name on f. 34v, but indeed there is a comment —the only one in the whole Pauline corpus, as far as I can say— with Photius’ name on f. 21v, but it seems as if the copist is struggling to put Photius name in front of a sign, indicating a later addition.

see Staab, 1926, 149.

comment 25a as «κβ´». The divergence of these numbers and those given in the third group is remarkable. This happens because in this group a few comments are missing or change place and this causes a new numbering. The comments that are missing are the following: i) the comment 10 (inc. Ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν...), ii) the comment 12 (inc. Ἐνθυμηθεῖς διὰ τῶν εἰρημένων...), iii) the comment 17 (inc. Μὴ γάρ μοι φησὶν εἴπης Πέτρον...) and the comment 24 (inc. Εἶτα ἐπειδὴ τὴν γενομένην αὐτῷ ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ ἀποκάλυψιν...). A misplaced comment is the comment number 25 that in these manuscripts is found after the comment 25a. These five manuscripts could be divided into two further subgroups taking into account the presence or the absence of the name of Severianus in scholium 25a. Thus, the following groups are generated:

- a) Those that have «Σεβηριανοῦ - κβ´»: Laurentianus Pluteus X.19 (GA 1922), Laurentianus Pluteus IV.1 (GA 454)
- b) The ones that have «κβ´» only: Laurentianus Pluteus X.6 (GA 1920), Sinaiticus gr. 282 (GA 1879), Mediolanensis Ambrosianus B. 6 inf. (GA 1941) and Parisinus Coislinianus gr. 95 (GA 1971).

The subgrouping above can also be confirmed by a previous study on the Pauline catena manuscripts looking for the relationship between the Pauline catena traditions, namely those of Pseudo-Oecumenius, Theophylact and Zigabenus.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Panella, Th. 2016. "Resurrection appearances in the Pauline Catenae", in Houghton, H.A.G. (ed.) 2016, 127.

### 2.2.5. Summary Table

The following table brings together the results of the analysis in this section, detailing the manuscripts and their key features.<sup>123</sup>

section	GA	Library	Shelf number	Date	10a%	25a%
2.2.1.a	619	Florence, BML	Conv. Soppr. 191	984	SIGN	SIGN- Σεηριανου
2.2.1.a	1921	Florence, BML	Plutei X.7	XI	SIGN	SIGN- Σεηριανου
2.2.1.a	1917	Vatican, BAV	Vat. gr. 766	XII	SIGN	SIGN- Σεηριανου
2.2.1.a	1946	Vatican, BAV	Ottob. gr. 31	XI	SIGN	SIGN- Σεηριανου
2.2.1.a	1997	Vatican, BAV	Pal. gr. 10	X	SIGN	SIGN- Σεηριανου
2.2.1.a	1951	Vatican, BAV	Chis. R VIII 55 (gr. 46)	XII	SIGN	SIGN- Σεηριανου
2.2.1.a	1906	Paris, BN	Coislin Gr. 28	1056	SIGN	SIGN- Σεηριανου
2.2.1.a	911	London, BL	Add. 39599	XI	SIGN	SIGN- Σεηριανου
2.2.1.a	1927	Moscow, Hist. Mus.	V. 94 S. 98	X	SIGN	SIGN- Σεηριανου
2.2.1.a	1908	Oxford, Bodl. Lib.	Roe 16	XI	SIGN	SIGN- Σεηριανου
2.2.1.a	1162	Patmos, Ioannou	15	XI	SIGN	SIGN- Σεηριανου

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<sup>123</sup> For further comparison of some of these manuscripts concerning the biblical text, see also, Morrill, B., – Gram, J., “Parsing Paul: Layout and Sampling Divisions in Pauline Commentaries”, in Houghton, H.A.G. (ed.), *Commentaries, Catena and Biblical Tradition*, 2016, pp. 110–111.

2.2.1.a	1772	Athos, Lavra	L 172	XIV	SIGN	Σεηριανοῦ
2.2.1.a	1871	Istanbul, Oec. Patr.	ex Chalki, Theol. Sch. 33	X	SIGN	Σεηριαν
2.2.1.b	1970	Paris, BN	Coislin. Gr. 30	XII	SIGN_second half of 10+10α	SIGN- Σεηριανου
2.2.1.c	1986	Vatican, BAV	Barb. gr. 574	XII	NO SIGN_ 10+10α= ι´	Σεηριανοῦ
2.2.1.c	1981	Milan, Ambros.	C.295 inf	XI	NO SIGN_ 10+10α= ι´	Σεηριανοῦ
2.2.2	2007	Florence, BML	Plutei IX.10	XI	NO SIGN	Σεηριανου
2.2.2	2817	Basel, UB	A.N.iii.11	XI	NO SIGN	Σεηρι
2.2.2	1914	Vatican, BAV	Vat. gr. 761	XII	NO SIGN	NO SIGN
2.2.3.a	1932	Paris, BN	Gr. 222	XI	ια´	κζ´ Σεηριανού
2.2.3.a	1952	Vatican, BAV	Barb. gr. 503	1323/4	ια´	κζ´ Σεηριανού
2.2.3.a	2189	Athos, Vatopedi	593	XII	ια´	κζ´ Σεηριανού
2.2.3.b	622	Vatican, BAV	Vat. gr. 1430	XII	ια´	κστ´ Σεηριανού
2.2.3.b	607	Paris, BN	Gr. 218	XI	ια´	κστ´ Σεηριανού
2.2.3.b	-	Florence, BML	Plutei VIII.19	XII	ι´	Σεηριανου
2.2.3.c	1934	Paris, BN	Gr. 224	XI	ια´	ιε´ Σεηριανού
2.2.3.c	1972	Paris, BN	Coislin Gr. 217	XIII	ια´	ιγ´- Σεηριανοῦ
2.2.3.c	1933	Paris, BN	Gr. 223	1045	ια´	ιγ´
2.2.4.a	1922	Florence, BML	Plutei X.19	XIII	ι´	κβ´- Σεηριανου



2.2.4.a	454	Florence, BML	Plutei IV.1	X	ι´	κβ´- Σευηριανου
2.2.4.b	1920	Florence, BML	Plutei X.6	X	ι´	κβ´
2.2.4.b	1879	Sinai	Gr. 282	XI	ι´	κβ´
2.2.4.b	1971	Paris, BN	Coislin Gr. 95	XII	ι´	κβ´
2.2.4.b	1941	Milan, Ambros.	B. 6 inf	XIII	ι´- Οἰκουμένιου	κβ´

Table 8: Subgrouping of the manuscripts of the Pseudo-Oecumenian group III.

### 2.3. Staab's *Spezialtypus*

Staab continues his work by characterizing Vaticanus gr. 1430 (GA 622, Diktyon N° 68061), a manuscript from the 11<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>124</sup> as “a special type”.<sup>125</sup> This manuscript will be examined more closely in the following section. Following this, the presence of different catena types in this witness will be examined in more detail in section 2.3.2.

#### 2.3.1. *Studying Vaticanus gr. 1430 with the help of palaeography and codicology*

Several scribes were involved through the centuries for the final form of Vaticanus gr. 1430. The manuscript consists of the Pauline epistles (ff. 1r-222v) and the Catholic epistles (ff. 223r-270v), and was copied in the eleventh century. The biblical text for both sets of epistles was copied in the centre of the pages, apparently by two scribes: one (A) was responsible for the majority of the manuscript, while another (B) wrote the quire that consists of ff. 231r – 238v. Staab believes that B might have copied two other quires, ff. 40r – 48v and ff. 49r – 60v,<sup>126</sup> but this claim is unsupported in both cases. The original quire of 49r–60v is missing and what we have today is a replacement of the original, which permits no identification of the original hands.<sup>127</sup> A careful palaeographical study of 40r–48v indicates that it was written by the scribes A for the biblical text and C for the

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<sup>124</sup> In <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr> it is dated in the 11<sup>th</sup> C, whereas in the Liste in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>125</sup> Staab 1926, 126 ff.

<sup>126</sup> Staab 1924, 302

<sup>127</sup> them to have written the quire: ff. 40r – 48v and ff. 231r – 238v,<sup>127</sup> who as Staab believes might have copied a third quire, too, ff. 49r – 60v,<sup>127</sup> but this claim is difficult to be proved since the original quire is missing.

catena. Proof for this is offered by the words κηρύγματος (f. 39v, from the previous quire) and κήρυγμα 40v (quire in question), as well as the words Ἑλλήνες (f. 39v) and Ἑλλησι twice on f. 40r with the first three letters written in the same way as well as the accent and the breathing. The manner of writing «η» in f. 40r could be cited as an objection, but in fact there are many examples of this letter with the same uncial shape in the previous quire .

Scribe A initiated the plan to copy this manuscript with the intention of the creation of a frame catena. For reasons unknown to us he had the support of the scribe B for the sole aforementioned quire (ff. 231r – 238v). Scribe A also started to copy the catena text, but he stopped as soon as he completed f. 2r. From f. 2v onwards this task for the Pauline epistles was continued and completed by scribe C. At this stage of the preparation of the manuscript the Catholic epistles were left without commentary, although the *mise en page* of the manuscript attests that the wide space in the upper, lower and outer margins had been provided to be used for a frame catena.

It has been shown that only one quire for some unexplained reason was written by a different scribe for the biblical text, though in Pinakes under the entry for this manuscript<sup>128</sup> one can find the not so convincing information that the relation between the scribes of the two corpora of the epistles is very uncertain (“*tres incertain*”). This claim is supported by the fact that in this unit the marginal chapters are also missing and it seems that there are no quire signatures. Further investigation shows that not all the quires of the Corpus Paulinum in this manuscript are signed, with quires ιγ’ (93r - 100v), ιζ’ (125r - 132v) and the last quire of the Pauline epistles κθ’ (221r - 228v) lacking a signature.

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<sup>128</sup> <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/68061/>

Secondly, the signatures were not supplied by the scribe who copied the catena, that is scribe C, or if different from scribe C, by the scribe who drew the initial letters of the extracts. An example for this can be found on f. 149r, where the quire signature is the same with the initial “K” of the extract with the number ξζ´. This shows why the quires with the Catholic Epistles that had no commentary are not signed.

Soon after, at some point in the eleventh or twelfth century the seventh quire of the manuscript that contained 1 Cor 6.13-12.7 fell out of the codex. In the twelfth century it was replaced by a new quire of six sheets (or else twelve leaves), ff. 49r – 60v. After a calculation of the lines of biblical text that were missing, I believe that the old quire was of the same size with six sheets – although the rest of the manuscript consists of quires of four sheets. Since this is a catena manuscript there was also a need for the equivalent commentary to be added in these new folia. However, the new catena text is not the same type as the original, probably because the *Vorlage* was no longer available. This assumption suggests that the manuscript may have been moved from its place of origin. Noteworthy for this quire is that both texts, the biblical and the commentary, were copied by the same scribe, who may be identified as scribe D.

Something similar to the story of the folia ff. 49r – 60v happened with the first and the last folia of the first quire of the codex (ff. 1 and 8). The estimated period that these two leaves were fallen out is between the twelfth and the fourteenth or fifteenth century: if they had been missing in the twelfth century when ff. 49r – 60v were added, it seems highly likely that they would have been replaced as well. In Pinakes the fourteenth or the fifteenth centuries have been proposed as the possible centuries that the two new folia were added. Staab proposes the fifteenth century, too. I am also inclined towards the later date as *terminus ante quem*. Nevertheless, it was not possible for me to examine the first

folio of the manuscript, as the only images available were those taken in the decade between 1960 and 1970. But when Staab examined the manuscript at some point before the publication of his book in 1926, the first folio was there. What is interesting, at least for f. 8, is that two scribes (scribes E and F) collaborated for the copy of this folio. Staab suggests that this was also the case for f. 1.

Finally, although this is not related to the Pauline Corpus, I would like to add that a seventh scribe (scribe G) added comments at the beginning and at the end of the Catholic Epistles. More specifically there are comments only at the beginning of the epistle of James (ff. 225v – 227r) and for the whole Epistle of Jude (ff. 268v – 270v). These are dated around the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries.<sup>129</sup>

### *2.3.2. Several catena types in Staab's Spezialtypus*

Concerning the type of the catena of the original form of the manuscript, it seems that this had been a manuscript that belonged to the group of the manuscripts that constitute the “Normal Typus”. It also seems to have the same numbering as Parisinus gr. 218 (GA 607). In Galatians they both give the number ια´ to the comment 10a and the number κζ´ for the comment 25a, accompanied with the name Σεηριανοῦ. This happens because Vaticanus gr. 1430 gives the same number (κβ´) twice in the comments 21 and 22 (although this probably happened due to the fact that they are positioned on the turn of the page, the first on f. 104r the second on f. 104v), whereas Parisinus gr. 218 does not give a

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<sup>129</sup> cf. <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/68061/>

number to the comment 22 giving the sense that it considers them as a unity. Although these two catena manuscripts have a different format (Vaticanus gr. 1430 is a frame catena, whereas Parisinus gr. 218 is an alternating catena), they both share this common characteristic that differentiates them from the other manuscripts of Staab's Pseudo-Oecumenian "Normal Typus". Thus, they could constitute a subcategory by themselves.

For the replaced quire, ff. 49r – 60v, as has already been mentioned, the type of the text of the catena is totally different from the type of the catena of the rest of the manuscript due to the lack of having access to its *Vorlage*. According to Staab it is dissimilar to any other known catena, but strongly influenced by the Typus Vaticanus.<sup>130</sup> He continues by giving us only a sample text from the first folio (f. 49r)<sup>131</sup> of this quire, in parallel with text from the codex Vaticanus Gr. 762 as representative for the Typus Vaticanus for 1 Corinthians for the comparison. Staab seems to find the right excerpts from Vaticanus Gr. 762 to compare with the quire in question, but he gives incorrect references for the folia.<sup>132</sup> He also makes some observations on the length of the text that show the differences between the many and short comments used by Staab's Normal Typus and the lengthy comments in this part of Vaticanus gr. 1430. He adds that they look similar to the comments in the Typus Vaticanus and suggests that the compiler tried to create something new, possibly to offer new interpretations for the biblical text, but

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<sup>130</sup> For this part of the catena cf. Cramer, v.5, 108–231.

<sup>131</sup> Staab 1926, 128–131

<sup>132</sup> Staab 1926, p. 129–131, f. 258 should be f. 257v; p. 130, f. 257v should be 258v; p. 131, f.258v should be 257v.

was not so successful in doing that even though skill is demonstrated in paraphrasing a source by abridging comments, or combining or completing them.<sup>133</sup>

Further study of the text of this quire confirms some of Staab's observations regarding the practice of the compiler and the high register of the language used. The identification of the source for the catena in this quire as *Typus Vaticanus*, however, is totally misleading. However, the compiler of this catena is not the scribe of the present manuscript, neither is this a new compilation. In fact, the catena in this quire is a witness to Staab's fourth type "ein sekundärer Erweiterungs-Typus" for 1 Cor. 6.13-12.7. A comparison with a manuscript of this type, e.g. *Monacensis gr. 375* (GA 0142), ff. 173r – 188r shows the word for word correspondence of the texts, whereas the relationship with *Typus Vaticanus* as proposed by Staab is only loose.

Finally, for the last part of the Pauline catena, ff. 1 and 8, written in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, based on examination of f. 8 it can be concluded that this catena is of the type that Staab calls "der erweiterte Typus" (= the expanded type). It looks similar to the Pseudo-Oecumenian "Normal Typus", but contains text that cannot be found in "Normal Typus", and which, in other catenae of the expanded type ("der erweiterte

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<sup>133</sup> "Der Redaktor nahm das dort gebotene Material, hauptsächlich die umfangreichen Scholien, formte sie seinem Geschmack und seinem Zweck entsprechend, kürzte, zog zusammen und ergänzte wieder. Die Berührung mit dem Wortlaut der Quelle ist bald enger, bald loser, immer aber so, dass die Parallelität der Exegese noch klar hervortritt. [...] Wir haben also hier einen Autor vor uns, der noch selbständig zu gestalten wusste, aber seine Exegese auch dem Inhalt nach aus eigener Kraft heraus zu schaffen, hat er nicht vermocht. Er blieb in Abhängigkeit von seinen Quellen und steht damit unter dem allgemeinen Charakter der Exegese im byzantinischen Zeitalter. Seine Arbeit bleibt eine Kompilation, Staab 1926, p.129.

Typus”), bears the name of Photius in front of the extracts. Staab correctly mentions that this text corresponds to Donatus’ edition from 1532.

### *2.3.3. Conclusions for Staab’s Spezialtypus*

Staab characterized this type as “Special” for various reasons, yet the presence of three different Pseudo-Oecumenian types (Normal type, expanded type and secondary expanded type<sup>134</sup>) in a single manuscript is indeed unique. This situation resulted from its ongoing use through the centuries that resulted in damage, loss and replacement. It demonstrates that this particular manuscript was in constant use for more than four centuries and deemed worthy of replacement when pages were lost, even if the affiliation of the catena and replacement text was not noticed by the users or copyists.

For these reasons, we wonder whether it would be worth considering that a better description of these two supplements, namely: a) ff. 49r – 60v and b) ff. 1 and 8 (provided that f. 1 is indeed from the same sources as f. 8), would be the Gregory–Aland number of the manuscript with a superscripted ‘s’, GA 622<sup>s</sup>. This is a practice that has been followed for other New Testament manuscripts such as GA 1739 (1739<sup>s</sup> for the first two chapters of Acts), GA 1241 (1241<sup>s</sup> in part of the Pauline and Catholic Letters) or W (W<sup>s</sup> for part of John).

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<sup>134</sup> Staab’s types: “Normal Typus”, “erweiterter Typus” and “ein sekundärer Erweiterungs-Typus”



## 2.4. Staab's "erweiterte Typus" (expanded type)

A further group of manuscripts is categorised as the Pseudo-Oecumenian expanded type ("erweiterte Typus"), which, according to Staab, is an expanded form of the normal type. These expansions are further additions made by the compiler. They consist mainly of extracts taken from several authors. The main characteristic is the presence of the *Scholia Photiana*, the additional comments that are attributed to Photius, the ninth-century Patriarch of Constantinople, and are identified by having his name in front of them.

There are twenty-two additional comments in Galatians that in many manuscripts are attributed to Photius. These are the following: 33a, 35a, 41a, 50a, 52a, 61a, 64a, 97a, 114a, 124a, 125a, 128b, 159a, 171a, 178a, 210a, 212a, 223a, 232b, 234b, 241b, 253a. There are two different schemes for the presentation of these comments, leading to the distinction of two groups:

- a) There is a small group of manuscripts in which these additional comments are attributed to Photius. These are: Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 204 (GA 1998), Mediolanensis Ambrosianus D. 541 inf. (GA 1982), Venetus Marcianus gr. Z. 33 (423) (GA 1923), and Parisinus gr. 219 (GA 91).
- b) However, in a number of manuscripts these comments are not attributed to Photius, but the compiler or copist has simply put a sign in front designating that these are additional comments. These manuscripts are: Parisinus Coislinianus gr. 27 (GA 1905), Vaticanus gr. 765 (GA1916),

Venetus Marcianus gr. Z. 34 (349) (GA 1924) and Londonensis Add.

22734 (GA 641)

Two further observations should be made regarding these manuscripts. First, Venetus Marcianus gr. Z. 34 (349) (GA 1924) was classified by Staab as of Pseudo-Oecumenian “normal Typus”. Second, Ambrosianus D. 541 inf. (GA 1982) proves to be a very interesting case for Galatians, since two quires have been replaced. These are κδ´ (ff. 153–160) and κε´ (ff. 161–168), that correspond to the biblical text from 2 Cor. 12.11 to Gal. 4.3: in these, the catena is of the normal type (normal Typus), whereas in the rest of Galatians it is Pseudo-Oecumenian expanded type (erweiterter Typus).

In the introduction to his later volume on *Pauluskommentare*, Staab repeats Hergenröther’s suggestion that Photius, as well as his questions to Amphilochius, wrote something with more exegetical content on the Pauline Epistles, perhaps even a commentary.<sup>135</sup> Hergenröther’s conclusion that “it seems” that Photius wrote a work on ten Pauline epistles, however, proved difficult to establish securely.<sup>136</sup> In his attempt to reconstruct Photius’ Commentary from the material found in catenae, Staab wonders:

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<sup>135</sup> Staab, 1933, p. XL.

<sup>136</sup> “Es scheint sonach festzustehen, daß Photius außer den Amphilochien noch Erklärungen zu zehn Paulinischen Briefen (Röm., I und II. Kor., Gal., Eph., Philipp., Kol., Hebr., I. und II. Thessal.) verfaßt hat. Näheres aber scheint sehr schwer zu ermitteln”, see Hergenrother, J., *Photius, Patriarch von Constantinopel sein Leben, seine Schriften und das griechische Schisma nach handschriftlichen und gedruckten Quellen*, v. 3, Regensbourg, 1869, pp. 90-91. (1867)

“Were there comments which have now been lost, or where there no comments on those verses and thus we have the whole Photian commentary?”<sup>137</sup>

It should be noted that the expanded type derives from the normal type. Evidence for this is that the unnumbered scholia from the normal type can be found still unchanged in the expanded type next to unnumbered extracts by Photius, which do not always have his name in front of them. The expanded type, however, presents the first instances of the compiler linking together scholia that refer to the same phrase or biblical verse with the word “ἄλλως” before the second hermeneia. This use of “ἄλλως” is mostly found in the Photian extracts.

## 2.5. The Pseudo-Oecumenian secondary type: Staab’s “sekundärer Erweiterungs-Typus”

This type has been studied in detail and is presented in Chapter 6. The information given there includes the description of the three witnesses to this type and the relationship between them, based on both external and internal characteristics not only for the biblical text but also for the commentary. There is also information about the sources and the character of this catena. Finally, in Appendix II can be found the critical edition of this catena for Galatians.

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<sup>137</sup> Staab 1933, pp. XL–XLI.

## 2.6. Staab's fifth category: Extracts from the Oecumenian type

According to Staab, the manuscripts that are grouped under the fifth Pseudo-Oecumenian category represent abridged versions of the family (“Auszüge aus dem Oecumenius-Typus” = Extracts from the Oecumenian Type). In fact, since there are inconsistencies in the chosen scholia, manuscripts can be found here that do not fit into any of the above-mentioned groups. The differences between them clearly show the specific, personal interests and needs of their compilers. Most of the manuscripts have only a few scholia. There are even manuscripts like codices Vaticani gr. 9, 873 and 875 in which the small number of scholia are totally independent of the biblical context and could, in fact, be listed as part of a collection of Byzantine lexica (e.g. Zonaras' lexicon, Iohannes Tzetzes' *Glossae in Hesiodi Opera et Dies*).<sup>138</sup>

There are two manuscripts that are particularly intriguing. First, Parisinus gr. 237 (GA 82), one of the earliest manuscripts of the Pseudo-Oecumenian tradition, dates from the tenth century.<sup>139</sup> It is the only manuscript of this group that could be characterised as an abridged version of the Pseudo-Oecumenian type A, since there is a good

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<sup>138</sup> Staab 1926, 172–173. See also Kotzabassi, S., ‘Kopieren und Exzerpieren in der Palaiologenzeit’, in Bravo Garcia, A. (ed.), *The Legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon: Three Hundred Years of Studies on Greek Handwriting. Proceedings of the Seventh International Colloquium of Greek Palaeography (Madrid - Salamanca, 15-20 September 2008)*, Bibliologia 31, Turnhout: Brepols, 2010, p. 473-482. See also Pontani, F., ‘A Scholium and a Glossary : two Footnotes to the Circulation of Rhetorical Texts in the Medieval Greek-speaking World’, in Signes Codoñer J., Pérez Martín, I. (eds.), *Textual Transmission in Byzantium: between Textual Criticism and Quellenforschung*, Lectio, Studies in the Transmission of Texts and Ideas 2, Brepols, 2015, p. 145-168

<sup>139</sup> Staab 1926, 180–181

representation of the comments both from the numbered scholia and the *corpus extravagantium* and there is none of the comments usually attributed to Photius. It is interesting that all these scholia, around one-fifth of the total in the Normal Type, do not have any numbers in front of them, but only signs or hooks ('Haken', 'Phantasiehaken' or 'Phantasiezeichen' as Staab calls them). The reason for this is unclear: do the symbols go back to an earlier version of the commentary, or do they replace the original numbers (in place of a new numbering system being created by the editor)?

The second notable manuscript is Vaticanus gr. 2062 (GA 627). Staab observes that this manuscript is the source for the unnumbered scholia in the Normal Type, although he later contradicts this by saying that these are excerpts from the Pseudo-Oecumenian tradition and the *Typus Vaticanus*<sup>140</sup> — its main representatives being the codices Vaticani gr. 762 and 692 (GA 1915 and GA1993 respectively). The reason for this appears to be Staab's desire to prove that the *Typus Vaticanus* is the most important type of the Pauline catena and the source for all the rest.<sup>141</sup> After a close study of the manuscripts —more specifically in Galatians— my research has shown that the scholia in Vaticanus gr. 2062 represent most of the anonymous scholia in type A, but not all. The fact that some are absent indicates that there must have been two stages before the creation of the Pseudo-Oecumenian Normal Type: the first was the *Urkatena* —a very first compilation—, then the unnumbered scholia that cannot be found in Vaticanus gr. 2062 (GA 627) were added, and finally the scholia were added that are present in Vaticanus gr. 2062 (GA 627), whether from this manuscript, its exemplar or a copy. This

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<sup>140</sup> Staab 1926, 169.

<sup>141</sup> "Der wichtigste Typus von Kettenkommentaren", see Staab 1926, 7.

theory helps us to better understand the stages of the creation of the Pseudo-Oecumenian type.

The variety of manuscripts that Staab lists in this category means that not all of those, which he lists genuinely, belong to this group. For example, in codex Parisinus gr. 101 (GA 468) only five out of the fifty-five comments on Galatians originate from the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena. While these five comments could of course assist with tracing the influence of the Pseudo-Oecumenian tradition, they do not in my opinion justify placing the manuscript in this category. Furthermore, this example demonstrates that manuscripts could be assigned to this group, which were not known to Staab but have been come more recently to scholarly attention.

## 2.7. Conclusion

In conclusion, it seems that the Pseudo-Oecumenian type of Galatians that Staab calls the “Normal Type” and has the most witnesses derived from an earlier form of catena, that is now lost, with the addition of the unnumbered scholia from Vaticanus gr. 2062 and the other set of unnumbered scholia not present in this manuscript. If we assume that these two sets of comments were added in two different stages, then Staab’s normal type belongs to the third stage (III) of the formation of the Pseudo-Oecumenian. If we consider that in the first stage (I) the “Urkatena” (the very first compilation, in its most basic form with all its comments numbered), was created and that in a second stage (II) a set with unnumbered comments was added, then in a third stage (III) was added the second set of the unnumbered scholia. This third stage (III) in fact represents the manuscripts that are grouped in the subchapter 2.2 since they consist of the basic form with the addition of the two *Corpora Extravagantia*. Furthermore, the smaller changes that took place in several stages of the formation of this group were explained in the

subsubchapters 2.2.1–4. One of the innovations of manuscripts on stage III was to incorporate the unnumbered scholia and give them a number. All the other types seem to be descendants of group III and its variations. The next stage (IV) was based on the group III of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena manuscripts to which the *Scholia Photiana* (scholia attributed to Photius) were added. These are described in the subchapter 2.4.

The new proposed grouping of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena manuscripts is presented in the following table.

	<b>Kind of compilation</b>			
<b>Group I</b>	Basic form			
<b>Group II</b>	Group I	+ corpus extravagantium 1		
<b>Group III</b>	Group II		+ corpus extravagantium 2 (with subgroups)	
<b>Group IV</b>	Group III			+ Scholia Photiana

Table: 9: Groups of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena manuscripts according to the stage of their formation

What Staab called the “Secondary Expanded form” (sekundärer Erweiterungs-Typus) was actually based on three sources, namely Group IV, Typus Parisinus and Theodoret. This type is studied in Chapter 6 and cannot be considered as part of the evolution of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena since it was not used any stage of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena in full.

This study has also proven that there is no Pseudo-Oecumenian Special Type (Spezialtypus), because its sole witness, Vaticanus gr. 1430 (GA 622), is a “patchwork” with text from the Pseudo-Oecumenian groups III, IV and Staab’s secondary expanded

form (sekundärer Erweiterungs-Typus) brought together over the course of the centuries. Finally, there is no coherent Pseudo-Oecumenian type with extracts from the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena, but a group of manuscripts that either have extracts from the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena in different combinations or in some way contributed to the formation of it.

Witnesses of all of the Pseudo-Oecumenian types survive from the tenth century. This demonstrates both that the five types do not necessarily represent a strict chronological sequence of development, and also that the development of the Pseudo-Oecumenian Pauline Catena must have started considerably earlier. If the claim is correct that Photius is the author of the *Scholia Photiana*, then we have a safe *terminus post quem* of the tenth century for the Pseudo-Oecumenian type IV. In the other cases, more work remains to be done. Pauline catenae must have remained a useful and relevant genre in subsequent centuries, since they continued to be copied up until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.



### 3. Pseudo-Oecumenian group II: the closest known form to “Urkatena”

#### 3.1. Description of GA075

Ioannis Sakkelion in his catalogue of the manuscripts of the National Library of Greece, covering the first 1856 codices of the library by shelfmark, describes codex Atheniensis gr. 100 (GA 075) in six and a half lines. Although laconic, this description is informative. It is a parchment codex dated to the tenth century, 27 cm high by 18cm wide, consisting and its dimensions are 27cm length and 18cm width. The manuscript consists of 377 folia, the first 44 folia of which are a later addition from the fifteenth century. When Sakkelion published his catalogue in 1892, he relied on the visible foliation of the manuscript, hence the number 44, but a later numbering corrected the duplication of folio 42, meaning that the number of initial folia is 45. These first 45 folia are bound in the codex randomly and are irrelevant to the main body of the codex «ἀσχέτως δὲ συνεδέθησαν», containing Georgius Cedrenus' *Σύνοψις Ἱστοριῶν*.<sup>142</sup> Sakkelion describes the rest of the manuscript as a hermeneia on the Pauline Epistles, which he is sure was written by Oecumenius and others and not by Theodoret as it is claimed in the manuscript.

Further comments about Sakkelion's description of the manuscript and its history are in order. The renumbering of the folios must have taken place between the publication of Sakkelion's catalogue and the date that the Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung took photos for their archives which are now uploaded on <http://ntvmr.uni->

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<sup>142</sup> Σακκελίων, Ι. – Α. Ι. Σακκελίων, Κατάλογος χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Αθήνα: Εθνικό Τυπογραφείο και Λιθογραφείο, 1892, p. 19.

[muenster.de/manuscript-workspace](http://muenster.de/manuscript-workspace). There are also comments written in red ink in the manuscript from the nineteenth or early twentieth century. In most cases, the wording of these is almost identical to that of Sakkelion in his description of the manuscript. Regarding the Pauline Epistles, the following comment can be found on f. 46r «Εἰ καὶ ἐπιγράφεται ἡ παροῦσα ἐρμηνεία εἰς τὸν Κύρην Θεοδώρητον, οὐκ ἔστιν ὁμῶς αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Οἰκουμένιου μᾶλλον.» This is a comment that has been made by a scholar, possibly Sakkelion himself, who in his catalogue says: «Περιέχει Ἑρμηνείαν εἰς τὰς Ἐπιστολάς τοῦ Παύλου εἰς Θεοδώρητον μὲν ἀναφερομένην, οὐκ οὕσαν δὲ τούτου, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον Οἰκουμένιου καὶ ἄλλων». Other notes in the same hand include the following note in the lower margin of f. 67r (quire κε´) there is «Ἐξεῤῥύησαν τετράδια κα´, ἥτοι φύλλα 168, ἐν οἷς περιείχετο ἡ ὑπόθεσις καὶ ἡ ἐρμηνεία τῆς Α´ Κορινθ. Μέχρι κεφ ιε´, ἐδ. 28. (μεταθετέα ἡ σημείωσις αὕτη ὅπισθεν ἐν φύλ. 45<sup>ov</sup>.<sup>143</sup>)»

One hundred sixty-eight folia would normally equate to twenty one quires with eight folia each. But were they always quires with eight folia? It should also be mentioned that both parts of the codex were partly damaged, with loss of leaves at the beginning and end, before they were bound.

### 3.2. Description of GA1980

Mediolanensis Ambrosianus A 62 inf. (GA 1980) is a manuscript of the eleventh century with catenae in the Acts of the Apostles and the Gospels as well as the Pauline

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<sup>143</sup> That is f. 46r in the newest numbering.

Epistles. Staab categorised this manuscript as a manuscript with extracts from the Pseudo-Oecumenian type, although he was aware that the Corpus Extravagantium is missing: although that this could mean that this manuscript could be a witness to the *Urkatena*, his attempt to defend his categorisation is based purely on external characteristics.<sup>144</sup>

### 3.3. The catena in GA 075 and GA 1980 and its relationship to the Pseudo-Oecumenian types

What is noticeable at first sight and is special about the text of the catena in these two manuscripts is that certain distinctive characteristics make the text vary from types III and IV. In the following paragraphs not only the similarities and the differences between the two manuscripts will be studied, but also their place in the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena tradition, their connection with other manuscripts and their relationship with Staab's type A. Could it indeed be the *Urkatena* of Pseudo-Oecumenian tradition?

The most important and indicative characteristic is that not only are the Scholia Photiana missing, but also the Corpus Extravagantium. Starting from the Scholia Photiana, there is no text here which is attributed to Photius in other catenae of group IV or exists in some other manuscripts as a further addition with just a sign in front.

As has already been mentioned in the previous chapter on Staab's Pseudo-Oecumenian types, Vat. gr. 2062 (GA 627) could be the source for the unnumbered scholia in type III. These unnumbered scholia are the following twenty-seven in my

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<sup>144</sup> Staab, 1926, pp. 179 and 203.

numeration: 10a, 25a, 80a, 81b, 85a, 94a, 96a, 122a, 122b, 122c, 126a, 128a, 129a, 142a, 153a, 158a, 160a, 166a, 172a, 178b, 183a, 199a, 204a, 214a, 234a, 236a, 241a.

The comments 70a, 70b, 81a, 114b, 114c, 117a, 117b, 142b, 144a, 202a and 248a, that exist as numbered comments in GA 075 and GA 1980 prove the assumption made in the previous chapter that they represent the first of the two stages before the creation of the Pseudo-Oecumenian type III, that is these manuscripts of group II with the *Corpus Extravagantium I*, preceding the addition of the extra material in Vaticanus gr. 2062 (GA 627). Even if this does not represent the *Urkatena*, it would nevertheless be older than Pseudo-Oecumenian type III and thus the earliest catena on Galatians currently known.

Another typical characteristic of both GA 075 and GA 1980 is that many independent comments in Pseudo-Oecumenian type III appear to be paired with the scholion that follows. For example comments 3 + 4 (=δ'), 17 + 18 (=ιζ'), 24 + 25 (= κγ'), 28 = 29 (= κστ'), 49 + 50 (= μστ'), 56 + 57 (= νβ'), 59 + 60 (= νδ'), 70 + 70a + 70b (= ξε' in GA 075, ξστ' in GA 1980), 106 + 107 (= ρβ'), 118 + 119 + 120 (= ριζ' in GA 075, ριε' in GA 1980), 130 + 131 (= ρκζ'), 132 + 133 (= ρκζ' in GA 075, ρκη' in GA 1980), 142 + 142b (= ρλστ'- Οίκου- Οίκου in GA 075, ρλζ' in GA 1908), 155 + 156 (= ρνβ' in GA 075, ρνγ' in GA 1980), 179 + 180 (= ροε' in GA 075, ροστ' in GA 1980), 206 + 207 (= σα' in GA 075, ρκη' in GA 1980), 232 + 232a (= σκστ'), 248 + 248a (= σμγ' in GA 075, σμβ' in GA 1980), 250 + 251 (= σμε' in GA 075, σμδ' in GA 1980).

The following table shows the similarities between the two manuscripts, as well as a comparison with GA 627 in order to show the location of the further additional comments.

comm	GA 075	GA 1980	GA 627
·			
Τὸ μὲν προοί μιον	α΄	α΄	
1	β΄	β΄	0
2	γ΄	γ΄	0
3	δ΄	δ΄	0
4			0
5	ε΄	ε΄	0
6	ζ΄	ζ΄	0
7	ζ΄	ζ΄	0
8	η΄	η΄	0
9	θ΄	θ΄	0
10	ι΄	NO SIGN	0
10a	0	0	SIGN
11	ια΄	ι΄	0
12	ιβ΄	ια΄	0
13	ιγ΄	NO SIGN	0
14	ιδ΄	ιδ΄	0
15	ιε΄	ιε΄	0
16	ιζ΄	ιζ΄	0
17	ιζ΄	ιζ΄	0
18			0
19	ιη΄	ιη΄	0
20	ιθ΄	NO SIGN	0
21	κ΄	κ΄	0
22	κα΄	κα΄	0

23	κβ´	κβ´	0
24	κγ´	κγ´	0
25			0
25a	0	0	SIGN
26	κδ´	κδ´	0
27	κε´	κζ´	0
28	κζ´	NO SIGN	0
29			0
30	κζ´	κζ´	0
31	κη´	κη´	0
32	NO SIGN	κθ´	0
33	λ´	λ´	0
34	λα´	λα´	0
35	λβ´	λβ´	0
36	λγ´	λγ´	0
37	λδ´	λδ´	0
38	λε´	λζ´	0
39	λζ´	NO SIGN	0
40	λζ´	λζ´	0
41	λη´	λη´	0
42	λθ´	λθ´	0
43	μ´	μ´	0
44	μα´	NO SIGN	0
45	μβ´ (του μὲν..)	μα´	0
46	μγ´	μβ´	0
47	μδ´	μγ´	0

47a	0	0	0
48	με´	μδ´	0
49	μζ´	NO SIGN	0
50			0
50a	0	0	0
51	μζ´	μζ´	0
52	NO SIGN	μη´	0
52a	0	0	0
53	μθ´	μθ´	0
54	ν´	ν´	0
55	να´	να´	0
56	νβ´	νβ´	0
57			0
58	νγ´	νγ´	0
59	νδ´	νδ´	0
60			0
61	νε´	NO SIGN	0
61a	0	0	0
62	νζ´	NO SIGN	0
63	NO SIGN_om. οἶον τῶν ἀκροβύστων ἐθνῶν .	NO SIGN_om. οἶον τῶν ἀκροβύστων ἐθνῶν .	0
64	νη´	νη´	0
64a	0	0	0
64b	νθ´	0	0
65	ξ´	νθ´	0
66	ξα´	ξ´	0

67	ξβ´	ξγ´	0
68	ξγ´	ξδ´	0
69	ξδ´	ξε´	0
70	ξε´ (om. τὸ δὲ ὅτι	ξζ´ (om. τὸ δὲ ὅτι	0
70a	κατεγνωσμέ νος...	κατεγνωσμέ νος...	0
70b	ἀντίζασις -- > ἰζέον μέντοι)_ 70b Οἰκουμ	ἀντίζασις -- > ἰζέον μέντοι)	0
71	ξζ´ Λύσις α´ (λύσις β´= αυτό που λείπει απο το comm. 70a)	ξζ´	0
71a	NO SIGN-in margins	0	0
72	ξζ´	ξη´	0
73	ξη´	NO SIGN	0
74	ξθ´	ξθ´	0
75	ο´	ο´	0
76	οα´	οα´	0
77	οβ´	οβ´	0
78	ογ´	ογ´	0
79	οδ´	οδ´	0
80	οε´	οε´	0
80a	0	0	SIGN
81	οζ´	NO SIGN	0
81a	οζ´	οζ´	0
81b	0	0	SIGN



82	οη´	οη´	0
82a	0	0	0
82b	0	0	0
83	οθ´	οθ´	0
84	π´	π´	0
85	πα´	πα´	0
85a	0	0	SIGN
86	πβ´	πβ´	0
87	πγ´	πγ´	0
88	πδ´	πδ´	0
89	πε´	πε´	0
90	πζ´	πζ´	0
91	πζ´	πζ´	0
92	πη´	πη´	0
93	πθ´	πθ´	0
94	ς´	ς´	0
94a	0	0	SIGN- Θεοδωρ ήτου
95	ςα´	ςα´	0
96	ςβ´	ςβ´	0
96a	0	0	του αυτοῦ
97	ςγ´	ςγ´	0
97a	0	0	0
98	ςδ´	ςδ´	0
99	ςε´	ςε´	0
100	ςζ´	ςζ´	0

101	ζζ´	ζζ´	0
102	ζη´	ζη´	0
103	ζθ´	ζθ´	0
104	ρ´	ρ´	0
105	ρα´	ρα´	0
106	ρβ´	ρβ´	0
107			0
108	ργ´	ργ´	0
109	ρδ´	ρδ´	0
110	ρε´(ως το "καθ' ἡμῶν")	ρε´	0
111	om. A folio is missing	ρζ´	0
112		ρζ´	0
113		ρη´	0
114		ρθ´	0
114a		0	0
114b		ρι´	0
114c		ρια´	0
115		NO SIGN	0
116	ριγ´	ριβ´	0
117	ριδ´	ριγ´	0
117a	ριε´	ριδ´	0
117b	ριζ´	NO SIGN	0
117c	0	0	0
118	ριζ´	ριε´	0
119			0
120			0

121	ριή´	ριζ´	0
122	ριθ´	ριζ´	0
122a	0	0	SIGN- Ιωάννου
122b	0	0	Γεννδίου είς τὸ αὐτὸ ρητὸν
122c	0	0	SIGN- Ιωάννου
123	ρκ´	ριή´	0
124	ρκα´	NO SIGN	0
124a	0	0	0
125	ρκβ´	ρκβ´	0
125a	0	0	0
126	ρκγ´	ρκγ´	0
126a	0	0	SIGN- Γενναδίο υ
127	ρκδ´	ρκδ´	0
128	ρκε´	ρκε´	0
128a	0	0	SIGN- Θεοδωρ ήτου
128b	0	0	0
129	ρκζ´	ρκζ´	0
129a	0	0	SIGN- Γενναδίο υ
130	ρκζ´	ρκζ´	0
131			0
132	ρκζ´	ρκη´	0

133			0
134	ρκη´	ρκθ´	0
135	ρκθ´	ρλ´	0
136	ρλ´	ρλα´	0
137	ρλα´	ρλβ´	0
138	ρλβ´	ρλγ´	0
139	ρλγ´	NO SIGN	0
140	ρλδ´	ρλε´	0
141	ρλε´	ρλζ´	0
142	ρλζ´ (142+142b)	ρλζ´ (142+142b)	0
142a	0	0	SIGN- Θεοδωρ ήτου
142b	Οικου- Οικου	NO SIGN	0
143	ρλζ´ (shortened)	ρλη´ (shortened)	0
144	ρλη´	ρλθ´	0
144a	ρμβ´ (post 146a)	ρμγ´ (post 146a)	0
145	ρλθ´	ρμ´	0
146	ρμ´	ρμα´	0
146a	ρμα´ (Όρα..)	ρμβ´ (Όρα..)	0
146b (Donat.)	0	0	0
147	ρμγ´	ρμδ´	0
148	ρμδ´	ρμε´	0
149	ρμε´	ρμε´	0

150	ρμζ´ + ό έν άγίοις δέ	ρμζ´ + ό έν άγίοις δέ	0
150a	Κύριλλος έν βίβλίω ζ´ τῆς πέντεκαιδεκ άτης τῆς έν πν(εύματ)ι λατρείας (in text)	Κύριλλος έν βίβλίω ζ´ τῆς πέντεκαιδεκ άτης τῆς έν πν(εύματ)ι λατρείας (in text) <b>add.</b> <b>Λέγει</b>	0
150b	ρμζ´ <b>Οίκουμενίο</b> <b>υ</b>	ρμζ´ <b>om.</b> <b>άσθενη...κα</b> <b>λεϊ.</b>	0
151	ρμη´	ρμη´	0
152	ρμθ´	ρμθ´	0
153	ρν´	ρν´	0
153a	0	0	<b>SIGN</b>
154	ρνα´	ρνα´	0
155	ρνβ´	ρνγ´	0
156			0
<b>156a</b>	<b>NO SIGN</b>	ρνδ´	0
157	ρνγ´	ρνε´	0
158	ρνε´	ρνζ´	0
158a	0	0	<b>SIGN</b>
159	ρνζ´	ρνζ´	0
<b>159a</b> <b>Φ</b>	0	0	0
159b Οικου	0	0	0
160	ρνζ´	ρνη´	0
<b>160a</b>	0	0	<b>SIGN-</b> <b>Γενναδίο</b> <b>υ</b>

161	ρνη΄	ρνθ΄	0
162	ρνθ΄	ρξ΄	0
163	ρξ΄	ρξα΄	0
164	ρξα΄ (shortened)	ρξβ΄ (shortened)	0
165	ρξβ΄ + <b>ὁ δὲ</b> ἐν ἁγίοις	ρξγ΄ + <b>ὁ δὲ</b> ἐν ἁγίοις	0
165a	Κύριλλος ἐν <b>βίβλῳ</b> γ'τῶν Παραλειπο μένων τῆς ἐν πν(εύματ)ι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ πραγματεία ς, φησὶ οὕτως	Κύριλλος ἐν <b>Βιβλίῳ</b> γ' τῶν Παραλειπομ ένων τῆς ἐν πν(εύματ)ι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ πραγματείας , φησὶ οὕτως	0
166	ρξγ΄	ρξδ΄	0
166a	0	0	SIGN
167	ρξδ΄	ρξε΄	0
168	ρξε΄	ρξζ΄	0
168a	0	0	0
169	ρξζ΄	ρξζ΄	0
170	ρξζ΄	ρξη΄	0
171	ρξη΄	ρξθ΄	0
171a	0	0	0
172	ρξθ΄	ρο΄	0
172a	0	0	SIGN
173	NO SIGN	ροα΄	0
			0
174	comm. In margin	0	0

175	ροα΄	ροβ΄	0
176	ροβ΄	ρογ΄	0
177	ρογ΄	ροδ΄	0
178	ροδ΄	ροε΄	0
178a	0	0	0
178b	0	0	SIGN- Ιωάννου
179	ροε΄	ροζ΄	0
180			0
181	ροζ΄	ροζ΄	0
182	ροζ΄	ροη΄	0
183	ροη΄ (183+184)	ροθ΄ (183+184)	0
183a	0	0	SIGN- Θεοδωρ ήτου
184	ροη΄ (183+184)	ροθ΄ (183+184)	0
185	ροθ΄	ροπ΄	0
186	ρπ΄	ρπα΄	0
			0
187	ρπβ΄	ρπγ΄	0
188	ρπγ΄ om. στήκετε..	ρπδ΄ om. στήκετε..	0
189	ρπδ΄ add. στήκετε...	ρπε΄ add. στήκετε...	0
190	ρπε΄	ρπζ΄	0
191	ρπζ΄	NO SIGN	0
192	ρπζ΄	ρπη΄	0
193	ρπη΄	ρπθ΄	0

194	ρπθ´	ρζ´	0
195	ρζ´	ρζα´	0
196	ρζα´	ρζβ´	0
197	NO SIGN	ρζγ´	0
198	ρζγ´	ρζδ´	0
199	ρζδ´	ρζε´	0
199a	0	0	SIGN
200	ρζε´	NO SIGN	0
201	ρζζ´	ρζη´	0
202	ρζζ´	ρζθ´	0
202a	ἀντίθεσις	σ´ – ἀντίθεσις	0
203	ρζη´	σ´	0
204	ρζθ´	σα´	0
204a	0	0	SIGN
205	σ´	σβ´	0
206	σα´	NO SIGN	0
207			0
208	σβ´	σγ´	0
209	σγ´	σδ´	0
210	σδ´	σε´	0
210a	0	0	0
211	σε´	σζ´	0
212	σζ´	σζ´	0
212a	0	0	0
213	σζ´	ση´	0
214	ση´	σθ´	0



214a	0	0	SIGN
215	σθ´	NO SIGN	0
216	σι´	NO SIGN	0
217	σια´	σιβ´	0
218	σιβ´	σιγ´	0
219	σιγ´	σιδ´	0
220	σιδ´	σιε´	0
221	σιε´	σιζ´	0
222	σιζ´	σιζ´	0
223	σιζ´ ...οὕτως ὁ Κλήμης ἐν ἐ´ Ὑποτυπώσε ων	σιη´ ...οὕτως ὁ Κλήμης ἐν ἐ´ Ὑποτυπώσε ων	0
223a	0	0	0
224	σιη´	σιθ´	0
225	σιθ´	σκ´	0
226	σκ´	σκα´	0
227	σκα´	NO SIGN	0
228	σκβ´	σκβ´	0
229	σκγ´	σκγ´	0
230	σκδ´	σκδ´	0
231	σκε´	σκε´	0
232	σκζ´	σκζ´	0
232a			0
232b	0	0	0
233	σκζ´ (different scribe from now on)	σκζ´	0

234	σκη´	σκη´	0
234a	0	0	SIGN
234b	0	0	0
235	σκθ´	σκθ´	0
236	0	0	SIGN
236a	σλ´	σλ´	0
237	σλα´	σλα´	0
238	σλβ´	σλβ´	0
239	σλγ´	σλγ´	0
240	σλδ´	σλδ´	0
241	σλε´	σλε´	0
241a	0	0	SIGN
241b	0	0	0
242	σλζ´	σλζ´	0
243	σλζ´	σλζ´	0
244	σλη´	σλη´	0
245	σλθ´	σλθ´	0
245a	σμ´	σμ´	0
246	σμα´		0
247	σμβ´	σμα´	0
248	σμγ´(248a+248)	σμβ´(248a+248)	0
248a			0
249	σμδ´	σμγ´	0
250	σμε´(251+250)	σμδ´(251+250)	0
251			0
252	σμζ´	σμε´	0
252a	0	0	0

253	σμζ´	σμζ´	0
253a	0	0	0
254	σμη´	σμζ´	0
255	σμη´		0

This shows not only that manuscripts of group II were still in circulation in the tenth and eleventh centuries, such as Atheniensis gr. 100 (GA 075) and Mediolanensis Ambrosianus A 62 inf. (GA 1980), but also that *Corpus Extravagantium 2* was considered as a separate composition that was incorporated afterwards at the later stage III of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena, as for example in Vat. gr. 2062 (GA 627). This finding makes these two manuscripts the only representatives of the oldest form of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena so far. Although the identification of a manuscript of the Pseudo-Oecumenian *Urkatena* (type I) remains a desideratum for scholarship, we can be sure that both type II and also type I legitimately have the prefix “Pseudo-” before Oecumenian, because there are comments that belong in both these types (I and II) which cannot be dated before the end of seventh or the beginning of the eighth century. These are the comments which come from the commentary of John of Damascus (676–749) on the Pauline Epistles, and although it is obvious that John of Damascus copies the material from Chrysostom’s commentary to a great extent, there are genuine comments that belong to John of Damascus’ commentary only, and are reproduced in the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena.<sup>145</sup> For example, the following comments originate in John of Damascus commentary and they are not part of either *Corpus Extravagantium 1* or 2:

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<sup>145</sup> For more on John of Damascus’s commentary see Volk, R. (ed), *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos VII* [Patristischen Texte und Studien 68], Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter, 2013.

Comm. 212: σάρκα ἐνταῦθα, τὰς σαρκικὰς καὶ πονηρὰς ἐπιθυμίας λέγει. πνεῦμα δὲ, τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ, χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. καὶ φησιν. ἡ μὲν κακία ἀντίκειται τῇ ἀρετῇ, ἡ δὲ ἀρετὴ πάλιν ἐναντιοῦται τῇ κακίᾳ παιδαγωγοῦ τινος τάξιν ἀναπληροῦσα καὶ μὴ ἐῶσα ἡμᾶς κατὰ τὰς φαύλας ἐπιθυμίας πορεύεσθαι.

Comm. 212	John Damascus <i>PG</i> 95.813.18	John Chrysostom <i>PG</i> 61.672.13
σάρκα ἐνταῦθα, τὰς σαρκικὰς καὶ πονηρὰς ἐπιθυμίας λέγει. πνεῦμα δὲ, τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ, χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. καὶ φησιν. ἡ μὲν κακία ἀντίκειται τῇ ἀρετῇ, ἡ δὲ ἀρετὴ πάλιν ἐναντιοῦται τῇ κακίᾳ παιδαγωγοῦ τινος τάξιν ἀναπληροῦσα καὶ μὴ ἐῶσα ἡμᾶς κατὰ τὰς φαύλας ἐπιθυμίας πορεύεσθαι	<i>Σάρκα</i> φησὶ, τὴν προαίρεσιν τὴν πονηρὰν, πνεῦμα δὲ, τὴν προαίρεσιν τὴν ἀγαθὴν, τὴν ἄνω τρέχειν σπουδάζουσιν. Ἡ μὲν κακία ἀντίκειται τῇ ἀρετῇ· ἡ δὲ ἀρετὴ πάλιν ἐναντιοῦται τῇ κακίᾳ, παιδαγωγοῦ τινος τάξιν ἀναπληροῦσα, καὶ μὴ ἐῶσα ὑμᾶς κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τὰς φαύλας πορεύεσθαι.	<i>Ἡ σὰρξ ἐπιθυμεῖ κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος</i> , περὶ δύο φησὶ λογισμῶν· οὗτοι γὰρ <u>ἀλλήλοις</u> ἀντίκεινται, ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ ἡ κακία, οὐχ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα. Εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα ἀντίκειται, ἀλλήλων ἐστὶν ἀναιρετικά, ὥς τὸ πῦρ τοῦ ὕδατος, ὥς τὸ σκότος τοῦ φωτός.

Table 11: Comparison of comment 212 with John of Damascus and Chrysostom

Comm. 254: στίγματα λέγει τὰς πληγὰς. τὰ τραύματα τὰ διὰ τὸν Κύριον καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα.

Comm. 254	John Damascus <i>PG</i> 95.821.15
Στίγματα <u>λέγει</u> τὰς πληγὰς. τὰ τραύματα τὰ διὰ τὸν <u>Κύριον</u> καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα.	Παντὸς λόγου καὶ πάσης φωνῆς, φησὶ, λαμπρότερον διὰ τῶν στιγμάτων ἀπολογοῦμαι πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας ὑποκρίνεσθαί με τὸ δόγμα, καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρωπαρεσκίαν λέγειν. <b><u>Στίγματα τὰς πληγὰς λέγει, τὰ τραύματα, τὰ διὰ τὸν Χριστόν.</u></b>

Table 12: Comparison of comment 254 with John of Damascus

These comments from John of Damascus can give us a possible, if not a definite *post quem* date for the creation of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena, which should be the first half of the eighth century. I believe that we should date the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena even later.

## 4. Text that probably originates in the *Scholia Photiana*

Since catena manuscripts have not yet been well studied textually, they may not only hide unexplored theological paths, but also lost text from the Church Fathers that has only survived in these manuscripts. I give here two examples of text that has never been published before, or has not previously been attributed to an author.

### 4.1. Comment 210a

There is a long comment on Gal. 5.15 «εἰ δὲ ἀλλήλους δάκνετε καὶ κατεσθίετε, βλέπετε μὴ ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων ἀναλωθῆτε» which is only found in three manuscripts: Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 204 (GA 1998) on f. 112v, Venetus Marcianus Gr. Z. 33 (423) (GA 1923) on f. 207r and Mediolanensis Ambrosianus D. 541 inf. (GA 1982) on f. 173v. The comment is attributed to all three manuscripts to Photius, always with the typical ligature of the combination of the first three letters of his name: Φωτ. Most importantly of all, it appears to be unpublished. It certainly does not appear in Migne’s volume of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena,<sup>146</sup> nor in Staab’s collection of the extracts attributed to certain authors so as to reconstruct their work.<sup>147</sup> It is also missing from Cramer. For the

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<sup>146</sup> PG 118.

<sup>147</sup> Staab, K, *Pauluskommentare aus der Griechischen Kirche: Aus Katenen Handschriften gesammelt und herausgegeben*, Münster: Aschendorff, 1933.

purpose of this research, the comment has been given the identification number 210a. The text with a critical apparatus, after a collation of the three witnesses, is as follows:

*Ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τόμῳ τῶν εἰς τὸν Ἰεζεκιήλ ἐξηγητικῶς εἰς το  
«διὰ τοῦτο πατέρες φάγονται τέκνα» ἐρμηνεύσω συ, τάδε ἐπιλέξεως  
φησὶ. Τοιαῦτα δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ τα παρὰ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ· αἰτιωμένῳ τοὺς  
στασιάζοντας πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔν τισιν ἐκκλησίαις· εἰ δὲ ἀλλήλους  
δάκνετε καὶ καταιτιᾶσθε· καὶ ὁ θεῖος μάρτυς Πιόνιος ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς  
ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸν διωγμὸν παραπεσόντας καὶ ἐπιθύσαντας· ἐλθόντας δὲ  
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ ἀνακλητικῇ παραινέσει, οὕτως  
ἀναφέρει τὴν χρήσιν· ἀπαρχόμενος οὕτως· «καινῇ κολάσει κολάζομαι·  
κατὰ μελῶν τέμνομαι· ὁρῶν τοὺς μαργαρίτας τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὑπὸ τῶν  
χοίρων καταπατουμένους· τοὺς ἀστέρας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὑπὸ τὴν οὐρὰν  
τοῦ δράκοντος εἰς τὴν γῆν σεσυρμένους· τὴν ἄμπελον ἣν ἐφύτευσεν ἡ  
δεξιὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑπὸ τοῦ συδὸς τοῦ μονιοῦ λυομένην·» καὶ μεθ' ἕτερα·  
«ἀλλὰ μὴ τις ὑπολάβῃ, τέκνα, ὅτι ἡδυνάτησεν ὁ Κύριος, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς· μὴ  
ἀδυνατεῖ ἡ χεὶρ μου τοῦ ἐξελέσθαι; ἢ ἐβάρυνε τὸ οὖς τοῦ μὴ ἀκούσαι;  
ἀλλὰ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ὑμῶν διῴστησιν ἀνὰ μέσον ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ·  
ἡμελήσαμεν γὰρ· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ κατεφρονήσαμεν· ἀλλήλους δάκνοντες  
καὶ ἀλλήλους καταιτιώμενοι, ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀνηλώθημεν.»*

#### Apparatus criticus

δευτέρῳ GA1998 ] β' GA1923 GA1982

αἰτιωμένῳ GA1923 GA1998 ] αἰτιωμένου GA1982

ἣν ἐφύτευσεν GA1923 GA1982 ] ἣν ἐφύτευσεν ἣν ἐφύτευσεν GA1998

μεθ' ἕτερα GA1998] μεθέτερα GA1923 GA1982

ἀνὰ μέσον GA1923 GA1982 ] ἀναμέσων GA1998

ἡμελήσαμεν GA1923 GA1982 ] ἡμέλησαν μὲν GA1998

As we can see, this comment is a result of intertextual comparison and at the same time is also a compilation that indicates a high level of scholarly activity. More especially, we can find here two different texts that I have put in quotation marks. References are given for both texts. The first one is a short paraphrase indicating that it derives from the second volume of an exegesis of Ezekiel «Ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τόμῳ τῶν εἰς τὸν Ἰεζεκιήλ ἐξηγητικῶς», and more specifically on: εἰς το «διὰ τοῦτο πατέρες φάγονται τέκνα». There is a text published in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* (PG) in the thirteenth volume with the title *Selecta in Ezechielem* (pp. 767–826). This is one of the three volumes containing writings by or attributed to Origen.<sup>148</sup> The work *Selecta in Ezechielem* is actually a compilation of extracts attributed to Origen's commentary on Ezekiel which were found in catenae on Ezekiel. In what follows, the two texts are here presented side by side. The text from the *Selecta in Ezechielem* is longer, but I tried to keep the whole passage that refers to this subject: «διὰ τοῦτο πατέρες φάγονται τέκνα» so as to understand the connection. The author of the extract promises to be as accurate as he could be «τὰδε ἐπὶ λέξεως».

**Comm. 210a (1/2)**

Ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τόμῳ τῶν εἰς τὸν  
Ἰεζεκιήλ ἐξηγητικῶς

**Origen, Selecta in Ezechielem (fragmenta e catenis)**  
**PG 13.783.52–784.37**

Τάδε λέγει Ἀδωναΐ Κύριος. Ἐπέτρεπεν, ὅπου μὲν τὸ  
κρῖμα, μὴ λέγειν· Ἔσται κρῖμα ἐν μέσῳ, ἀλλὰ, Ποιήσω  
κρῖμα ἐν μέσῳ σου· καὶ διὰ τὸ μεμιαγκέναι αὐτοὺς τὰ

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<sup>148</sup> PG 11–13.



ἅγια τοῦ Θεοῦ, λέγεται τὸ, *Κἀγὼ ἀπόσομαί σε· ὅπου δὲ πατέρες υἱοὺς ἦσθιον, Οὐχὶ ποιήσω, ἵν' οἱ πατέρες φάγωσι τέκνα* ἢ τέκνα τοὺς πατέρας· ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἦν ἁμάρτημα τῶν πατέρων τὸ ἐσθίεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τοὺς υἱούς. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ οἰκεῖον Θεῷ τὰ ταῦτα ἐνεργῆσαι. Οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἑβραίων διδάσκαλος ἐξηγήσατο τό· *Τοὺς δοξάζοντάς με δοξάσω, οἱ δὲ ἐξουθενοῦντές με ἀτιμασθήσονται*, ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν *Βασιλειῶν* κείμενον. Ἐχρῆν γὰρ Θεοῦ μὲν ἔργον εἶναι τὸ δοξάζειν, οὐκέτι δὲ ἐνέργειαν, ἀλλὰ παρακόλουθα τὸ τὸν ἀτιμάζοντα Θεὸν ἀτιμάζεσθαι. Ταῦτα οὖν παρατηρητέον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν εὐλογιῶν καὶ καταρῶν τῶν ἐν *Λευϊτικῷ* καὶ *Δευτερονομίῳ*, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων τῶν εἰς το «*διὰ τοῦτο πατέρες φάγονται τέκνα*» προφητικῶν. Τί τοίνυν ἐστὶ τὸ, *Διὰ τοῦτο φάγονται πατέρες τὰ τέκνα ἐν μέσῳ σου, καὶ τέκνα φάγονται πατέρας*; Ὅσον μὲν οὖν κατὰ κοινὴν τινα καὶ ἀπλουστέραν ἐκδοχὴν ἔστι τοῦτο ἰδεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἀκαταστατούσαις καὶ στασιαζούσαις πονηρευομένων ἐκκλησίαις. Πολλάκις γὰρ οἱ διδάξαντες καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ γεγεννηκέναι τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν ἀκούσαντας τοῦ θείου νόμου νομισθέντες, ἐπιβουλευόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν διδαχθέντων, οἷον ἐσθίονται ὑπὸ τῶν υἱῶν πατέρες. Εἰ δὲ αὐτοὶ πλεονεκτοῖεν καὶ ἀδικοῖεν τοὺς προσαχθέντας δι' αὐτῶν τῷ θεῷ λόγῳ, *πατέρες εἰσὶν ἐσθίοντες τοὺς υἱούς*. Ὅτι δὲ κεῖται τὸ ἐσθίειν τὰς σάρκας τινὸς ἐπὶ τοσαύτης ἀκαταστασίας καὶ στάσεως, ἔστι μαθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ κς' ψαλμοῦ· *Διὰ τὸ ἐγγίζειν ἐπ' ἐμὲ κακοῦντας τοῦ φαγεῖν τὰς σάρκας μου*· καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰωβ λέγοντος· *Εἰ δὲ καὶ εἶπον αἱ θεράπαιναί μου· Τίς ἂν δοίῃ ἡμῖν τῶν ἐρμήνευσω συ, τάδε ἐπιλέξεως σαρκῶν αὐτοῦ φαγεῖν, λιμοῦ χρηστοῦ ὄντος*; *Τοιαῦτα φησὶ. Τοιαῦτα δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ τα ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῷ Ἀποστόλῳ αἰτιωμένῳ τοὺς παρὰ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ · στασιάζοντας πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐν τισιν Ἐκκλησίαις· Εἰ*

αἰτιωμένῳ τοὺς στασιάζοντας δὲ ἀλλήλους δάκνετε καὶ κατεσθίετε, βλέπετε μὴ ὑπὸ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔν τισιν ἀλλήλων ἀναλωθῇτε. Τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δάκνειν καὶ ἐκκλησίαις· εἰ δὲ ἀλλήλους κατεσθίειν, ὡς γίνεσθαι τὸ, *Πατέρες φάγονται τέκνα ἐν μέσῳ σου, καὶ τέκνα φάγονται πατέρας*, οὐχ ὁ Θεὸς ἐνεργεῖ, ἀκολουθεῖ δὲ τοῖς τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀπωθουμένοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς νομίμοις αὐτοῦ μὴ πορευομένοις. (p. 783.52–784.37)

The notorious inaccuracy of attributions in catena manuscripts means that we should be wary of accepting the attribution to Origen. Nevertheless, these texts are clearly related, with the extract in the catena of Galatians deriving from the longer text in the Ezekiel catena.

The second extract reads as follows:

«καινῇ κολάσει κολάζομαι· κατὰ μελῶν τέμνομαι· ὁρῶν τοὺς μαργαρίτας τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὑπὸ τῶν χοίρων καταπατουμένους· τοὺς ἀστέρας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὑπὸ τὴν οὐρὰν τοῦ δράκοντος εἰς τὴν γῆν σεσυρμένους· τὴν ἄμπελον ἣν ἐφύτευσεν ἡ δεξιὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὑπὸ τοῦ συὸς τοῦ μονιοῦ λυομένην·» [καὶ μεθ’ ἕτερα]<sup>149</sup> «ἀλλὰ μή τις ὑπολάβῃ, τέκνα, ὅτι ἡδυνάτησεν ὁ Κύριος, ἀλλ’ ἡμεῖς· μὴ ἀδυνατεῖ ἡ χεὶρ μου τοῦ ἐξελέσθαι; ἢ ἐβάρυνε τὸ οὖς τοῦ μὴ ἀκούσαι; ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀμαρτήματα ὑμῶν διῴστησιν ἀνὰ μέσον ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ· ἡμελήσαμεν γὰρ· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ κατεφρονήσαμεν· ἀλλήλους δάκνοντες καὶ ἀλλήλους καταιτιώμενοι, ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων ἀνηλώθημεν.»

<sup>149</sup> καὶ μεθ’ ἕτερα is a link inserted by the compiler and not part of the original extract.

The author of the extract in the catena on Galatians gives us again a reference for this work, naming the author as «ὁ θεῖος μάρτυς Πιόνιος» and the source as: «ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸν διωγμὸν παραπεσόντας καὶ ἐπιθύσαντας· ἐλθόντας δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ ἀνακλητικῇ παραινέσει». Indeed, this text exists, and was published by Musurillo in 1972 under the title *Martyrium Pionii presbyteri et sodalium*.<sup>150</sup> The two texts are presented side by side below.

Comm. 210a (2/2)

καὶ ὁ θεῖος μάρτυς Πιόνιος ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸν διωγμὸν παραπεσόντας καὶ ἐπιθύσαντας· ἐλθόντας δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ ἀνακλητικῇ παραινέσει, οὕτως ἀναφέρει τὴν χρήσιν· ἀπαρχόμενος οὕτως· «καινῇ κολάσει κολάζομαι· κατὰ μελῶν τέμνομαι · ὁρῶν τοὺς μαργαρίτας τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὑπὸ τῶν χοίρων καταπατουμένους· τοὺς ἀστέρας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὑπὸ τὴν

Musurillo (1972), Martyrium Pionii presbyteri et sodalium, Ch. 12 sect. 3\*, 13, 14, 15

(1) Ὅμως δ' οὖν καὶ ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἤρχοντο πείθειν θέλοντες, καὶ ἀκούοντες αὐτῶν τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἐθαύμαζον. (2) εἰσήεσαν δὲ καὶ ὅσοι κατὰ ἀνάγκην ἦσαν σεσυρμένοι τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀδελφῶν πολὺν κλαυθμὸν ποιοῦντες, ὥς μέγα πένθος καθ' ἐκάστην ὥραν ἔχειν αὐτοὺς, μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς εὐλαβέσι καὶ ἐν καλῇ πολιτείᾳ γενομένοις, ὥς καὶ κλαίοντα τὸν Πιόνιον λέγειν· (3\*) **Καινῇ κολάσει κολάζομαι, κατὰ μέλος τέμνομαι ὁρῶν τοὺς μαργαρίτας τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τῶν χοίρων καταπατουμένους καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς οὐρᾶς τοῦ δράκοντος εἰς τὴν γῆν σεσυρμένους, τὴν ἄμπελον ἣν ἐφύτευσεν ἡ δεξιὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑὸς τοῦ**

<sup>150</sup> Musurillo, H., *The acts of the Christian martyrs*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972, pp. 136-166.

οὐραν τοῦ δράκοντος εἰς τὴν γῆν σεσυρμένους· τὴν ἄμπελον ἣν ἐφύτευσεν ἡ δεξιὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑπὸ τοῦ συός τοῦ μονιοῦ λυομένην·»

καὶ μεθ' ἕτερα·

«ἀλλὰ μή τις ὑπολάβῃ, τέκνα, ὅτι ἡδυνάτησεν ὁ Κύριος, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς· μή ἀδυνατεῖ ἡ χεὶρ μου τοῦ ἐξελέσθαι; ἢ ἐβάρυνε τὸ οὖς τοῦ μή ἀκούσαι; ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀμαρτήματα ὑμῶν διῴστησιν ἀνὰ μέσον ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ· ἡμελήσαμεν γάρ· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ κατεφρονήσαμεν · ἀλλήλους δάκνοντες καὶ ἀλλήλους καταιτιώμενοι, ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀνηλώθημεν.»

μονιοῦ λυμαινομένην· καὶ ταύτην νῦν τρυγῶσι πάντες οἱ παραπορευόμενοι τὴν ὁδόν. (4) τεκνία μου οὖς πάλιν ὠδίνω ἕως οὗ μορφωθῇ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν, οἱ τρυφεροί μου ἐπορεύθησαν ὁδοὺς τραχείας. (5) νῦν ἡ Σωσάννα ἐνεδρεύθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνόμων πρεσβυτέρων, νῦν ἀνακαλύπτουσι τὴν τρυφερὰν καὶ καλήν, ὅπως ἐμπλησθῶσι τοῦ κάλλους αὐτῆς καὶ ψευδῇ καταμαρτυρήσωσιν αὐτῆς. (6) νῦν ὁ Ἀμὰν κωθωνίζεται, Ἑσθὴρ δὲ καὶ πᾶσα πόλις ταράσσεται. (7) νῦν οὐ λιμὸς ἄρτου οὐδὲ δίψα ὕδατος, ἀλλ' ἡ τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι λόγον κυρίου. (8) ἡ πάντως ἐνύσταξαν πᾶσαι αἱ παρθένοι καὶ ἐκάθευδον; (9) ἐπληρώθη τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ· Ἄρα ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐλθὼν εὐρήσει τὴν πίστιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς; (10) ἀκούω δὲ ὅτι καὶ εἷς ἕκαστος τὸν πλησίον παραδίδωσιν, ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ Παραδώσει ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφὸν εἰς θάνατον. (11) ἄρα ἐξητήσατο ὁ σατανᾶς ἡμᾶς τοῦ σινιάσαι ὡς τὸν σῖτον· πύρινον δὲ τὸ πτύον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγου τοῦ διακαθᾶραι τὴν ἄλωνα. (12) τάχα ἐμωράνθη τὸ ἄλας καὶ ἐβλήθη ἔξω καὶ καταπατεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. (13) ἀλλὰ μή τις ὑπολάβῃ, τεκνία, ὅτι ἡδυνάτησεν ὁ κύριος ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς. (14) Μὴ ἀδυνατεῖ γάρ, φησὶν, ἡ χεὶρ μου τοῦ ἐξελέσθαι; ἢ ἐβάρυνε τὸ οὖς μου <τοῦ> μή εἰσακοῦσαι; ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀμαρτήματα ὑμῶν διῴστῶσιν ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν. (15) ἡδικήσαμεν γάρ, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ καταφρονήσαντες· ἡνομήσαμεν ἀλλήλους δάκνοντες καὶ ἀλλήλους καταιτιώμενοι· ὑπὸ ἀλλήλων ἀνηλώθημεν. (16) ἔδει δὲ ἡμῶν τὴν δικαιοσύνην περισσεύειν μᾶλλον πλεον τῶν

γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων.

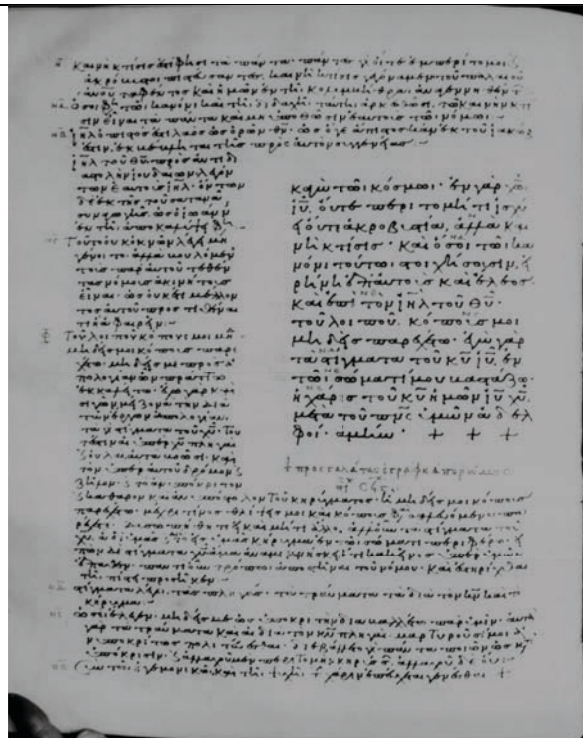
The differences between the two texts are only slight, with one exception. Comment 210a says «ἀνὰ μέσον ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ» whereas *Martyrium Pionii* says «ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν»: the omission of the first-person pronoun makes the author of the catena extract appear to be more pious. In addition, the authorial comment «καὶ μεθ' ἕτερα» (i.e. “and after other comments he continues”) that builds a bridge between the two parts of the comment clearly explains the omission of the text in between the comments and further shows the dependence of our extract from the *Martyrium Pionii*.

In conclusion, we should be hesitant regarding the identity of the author: although the initials ΦΩΤ are found in front of the extract, both texts derive from sources not connected with Photius. What is more, all the other extracts that are attributed to Photius in these manuscripts have a different typology. They all start with a repetition of the lemma text preceding the comment. In this case the repetition is lacking. It therefore appears that these additions derive from a different source, albeit one used by a scholar, but whose attribution to Photius seems doubtful.

## 4.2. Comment 252a

From almost the same sources as comment 210a comes comment 252a. It is only present in Mediolanensis Ambrosianus D. 541 inf. (GA 1982) f. 176v and in Venetus Marcianus Gr. Z. 33 (423) (GA 1923) in f. 210v, since in Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 204 (GA 1998) Galatians is only extant until f. 213v (Gal 5.20). The two manuscripts that have this text are very closely related: in fact, one is a copy of the other. Not only the mise-en-page of these two manuscripts is remarkable, but also the exact content of the two codices, line by line:

GA 1923, f. 210v



GA 1982, f. 176v



Table 13: Comparison of GA 1923 and 1982.

In these witnesses, comment 252a is present on the verso of a page at almost the same place, with neither a number in front nor a sign. However it can be easily distinguished from the following and previous comments.

«Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ. πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν Ἰουδαίων. λεγόντων ἑαυτοὺς Ἰσραὴλ·  
ὄντων δὲ “ἐκ τῆς τοῦ σατανᾶ συναγωγῆς”. ὡς ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει,  
φησὶ.»

This comment has also not previously been published. It was not part of the numbered comments, and a gap has been left before it, awaiting either a sign or a ligature representing an author's name. My inclination is for the latter, more especially that it is part of the *Scholia Photiana*. The first phrase «Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ.» has exactly the same pattern and role as the first phrases that are usually written in majuscule in the *Scholia Photiana*. These are usually a repetition or paraphrase of a biblical verse and serve either as a title for the following extract or a part of a larger period with a more active role in the extract. In this case it is a combination of the two, and although this phrase is written in minuscule letters, we should not be misled by that.

The comment itself gives us hints of its possible origins. First of all, a reference is being given: a phrase “ἐκ τῆς τοῦ σατανᾶ συναγωγῆς” which is found «ὡς ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει, φησὶ», in the Book of Revelation. This is more or less a paraphrase of the first half of Gal 3.9: «ἰδοὺ διδῶ ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς τοῦ Σατανᾶ, τῶν λεγόντων ἑαυτοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἶναι, καὶ οὐκ εἶσιν ἀλλὰ ψεύδονται.» The contribution of the scholar who added this observation is not restricted to identifying the reference and the paraphrase, but also features the use of the critical scholion «πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν Ἰουδαίων», that is similar to the more widely used «ἀντὶ τοῦ» in the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena. All these aspects

support the identification of this extract as an otherwise unattested member of the *Scholia Photiana*. This comment might have been overlooked and thus not included in Staab's edition (1933), because although he used both manuscripts (GA 1923 and 1982) (see section 1.5.4.2), this might have been considered as a continuation of the previous comment. This is an example that proves why surveys based solely on the *initia* of the comments may well be misleading.

### 4.3 Conclusion

The two texts that have been studied in this chapter confirm and prove the initial the hypothesis that lost texts are preserved in the catena manuscripts that could help in the reconstruction or the restoration of lost commentaries. An example for this is the commentary that Hergenröther suggested was created by Photius for the Pauline Epistles and later on Staab tried to reconstruct.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Staab, 1933, pp. 470–652.



## 5. Typus Vaticanus and its relationship to the Pseudo-Oecumenian Pauline catena

### 5.1. Description and contents

Codex Vaticanus gr. 692 (GA 1993), copied in the eleventh or twelfth centuries, is made of parchment, consists of 97 folios, is not in perfect condition and has only partially survived. We do not know its original contents for sure, but given it has four Pauline epistles in sequence: 1Cor 6:19 – 16:24 (f. 1r – f. 43r), 2Cor (f. 43v – f. 76v), Gal (f. 77r – f. 91r), Eph 1:1 – 5:13 (f. 91v – f. 97v), and given that the first and last of these are partial because of damage to the codex it is a reasonable assumption that at least all the Pauline epistles were included.

### 5.2. Staab's information about Vaticanus gr. 692 and its relation with Vaticanus gr. 762

As Staab mentioned, Vaticanus gr. 692 (GA 1993) is considered in the Karo – Lietzmann catalogue as a separate type of Pauline catena.<sup>152</sup> This catalogue gives a list of the exegetes' names in this manuscript, but it is neither full nor correct.<sup>153</sup> Staab continues his criticism of earlier work on this witness by turning to Turner's significant article in

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<sup>152</sup> Staab 1926, 11. See also Karo, G. and Lietzmann, H., *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, Göttingen, 1902, p. 601.

<sup>153</sup> Staab 1926, p. 11

Hasting's *Dictionary of the Bible*.<sup>154</sup> Here again, although Turner believed that greater value should be placed on this manuscript and gave additional information, Staab showed that this was partly wrong.<sup>155</sup> Finally, Staab concluded that this manuscript is in fact a descendant of the main representative of Typus Vaticanus, Vat. gr. 762 (GA 1915),<sup>156</sup> which was, in fact, also its *Vorlage*, and that proof for this is the word ἐκλογαὶ in its title.<sup>157</sup> Unfortunately, we cannot prove this while studying Galatians, since this epistle is only preserved in one witness of the so-called Typus Vaticanus, Vat. gr. 692 (GA 1993), and therefore cannot be compared with any other of this type. There is some evidence, though, to support its connection with Vat. gr. 762 (GA 1915) which was proposed and supported by Staab. He claims that the catena in Vat. gr. 692 is an abridged version of the catena text of Vat. gr. 762 (GA 1915), proposing that the *Vorlage* for the first three epistles in Vat. gr. 692 (GA 1993) was Vat. gr. 762 (GA 1915). However, his argument is incomplete and not fully supported. In particular, Staab says that in Vat. gr. 692 (GA 1993) the biblical lemmata “almost always” start with the same word, that for the “largest part” the scholia are identical, that the scribe or editor of Vat. gr. 692 (GA 1993) “paraphrased in many cases” and finally that Vat. gr. 762 (GA 1915) uses always “Ιω” or “Ιωάννου” in front of the Chrysostomian extracts instead of “Χρ”, that we are accustomed to find in other catena.<sup>158</sup> It is therefore difficult to accept his conclusion that

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<sup>154</sup> Turner, p. 522

<sup>155</sup> Staab 1926, p. 11.

<sup>156</sup> Staab 1926, p. 11. For Vaticanus gr. 762 see also Lang, O., *Die Catene des Vaticanus gr. 762 zum Ersten Korintherbrief*, [Catenenstudien 1], Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1909.

<sup>157</sup> Staab 1926, p. 13.

<sup>158</sup> Staab 1926, p. 10.

“Die Abhängigkeit der fraglichen Handschrift ergibt sich aus dem Gesagten mit voller Evidenz” (“the dependence of Vat. gr. 692 (GA 1993) from Vat. gr. 762 (GA 1915) arises from a self-evident truth”) His argument for common mistakes in both manuscripts is more convincing, but even these could have originated in a common ancestor of both manuscripts. I am sceptical about their relationship, but more evidence is needed to support this, such as a collation of the two manuscripts in the first three epistles. For now, I am only studying Galatians and I will try in this chapter to identify whether there is connection of Typus Vaticanus (as found in GA 692) with other catena manuscripts.

### 5.3. The biblical text in «Τῶν εἰς τὴν πρὸς Γαλάτας ἐπιστολὴν ἐξηγητικῶν ἐκλογῶν»

Although Typus Vaticanus presents a catena on Galatians, it is interesting to see that not all the verses of Galatians are present; sometimes the same verses are repeated, whereas at other times verses from other Pauline epistles can also be found. More details will be discussed in the following sections.

#### 5.3.1. Fragmentary character

The following verses of Galatians are present in the manuscript:

*Gal* 1:1–2 (f. 77r), *Gal* 1:3–5 (f. 77v), *Gal* 1:8–10a (f. 78r), *Gal* 1:13 (f. 78r), *Gal* 1: 15–16a (f. 78v), *Gal* 1:16b–17a (f. 79v), *Gal* 2:1–2 (f. 80r), *Gal* 2:6 (f. 80v), *Gal* 2:11–13a (f. 81r), *Gal* 2:15–17a (f. 81v), *Gal* 2:19–20 (f. 82r), *Gal* 3:1–2a (f. 83v), *Gal* 3:13–14 (f. 83v), *Gal* 3:15–16 (f. 84v), *Gal* 3:19–20 (f. 85r), *Gal* 3:23–24a (f. 85r), *Gal* 4:1–4a (f.

85v), *Gal* 4:4–5 (f. 86r–v), *Gal* 4:8–9a (f. 86v–87r), *Gal* 4:19 (f. 87r), *Gal* 4:21–23 (f. 87v), *Gal* 4:24 (f. 87v), *Gal* 5:2–3 (f. 88r), *Gal* 5:9–10a (f. 88v), *Gal* 5:16–17 (f. 88v), *Gal* 5:19–21 (f. 89r), *Gal* 5:22a (f. 89v), *Gal* 5:24 (f. 89v), *Gal* 6:2 (f. 90r), *Gal* 6:9–10a (f. 90r), *Gal* 6:11 (f. 90r), *Gal* 6:12–13 (f. 90v), *Gal* 6:16a (f. 91r), *Gal* 6:17a (f. 91r), *Gal* 6.18 (f. 91r).

These verses are written in semi-majuscule script and before each line of them is a diple “<” which indicates that this is part of the biblical text. It is not clear, though, whether these signs were written by the principal copyist or a later hand.

The verses that are missing or are not written in semi-majuscule are the following:

*Gal.* 1:6–7, *Gal.* 1:10b–12, *Gal.* 1:14, *Gal.* 1:17b–24, *Gal.* 2:3–5, *Gal.* 2:7–10, *Gal.* 2:13b–14, *Gal.* 2:17b–18, *Gal.* 2:21, *Gal.* 3:2b–12, *Gal.* 3:17–18, *Gal.* 3:21–22, *Gal.* 3:24b, *Gal.* 3:25–29, *Gal.* 4:6–7, *Gal.* 4:9b–18, *Gal.* 4:20, *Gal.* 4:25–31, *Gal.* 5:1, *Gal.* 5:4–8, *Gal.* 5:10b–15, *Gal.* 5:18, *Gal.* 5:22b–23, *Gal.* 5:25–26, *Gal.* 6:1, *Gal.* 6:3–8, *Gal.* 6:10b, *Gal.* 6:14–15, *Gal.* 6:16b, *Gal.* 6:17b. The missing biblical verses are equivalent almost to two-thirds of the whole epistle, that is almost 94 out of the total 149 verses of Galatians. This makes the manuscript interesting, since it would be intriguing to find out why these verses have not been included.

The first explanation of this fragmentation could be that it is related to a liturgical use of the text. The biblical text could have been taken from a lectionary with only the relevant readings for the whole ecclesiastical year. But it seems this is not the case, since, firstly, there are no lectionary marks and, second, the biblical text is not the *Apostolos*

reading that one would expect to find in a lectionary.<sup>159</sup> Could it be a reading for another occasion (such as a catechism) or for didactic purposes? It could be, as the resulting biblical text flows smoothly and could easily be read aloud in one hour. Third, one might expect the commentary to cover the gaps in the biblical text, since the Church Fathers often inserted parts of the biblical verses in their commentaries. However, this is only partly the case.

### 5.3.2. *Repetitions in the commentary*

The scribe sometimes puts the dipole “<·” in front of biblical repetitions which are found in the extracts of the Church Fathers. This is the same sign that he uses to signify the biblical verses in semi-majuscule in the main block of biblical text. An indicative example can be found in the second column of f. 77v where we can see the repetition of the biblical verse *Gal* 1:4b “κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν” that has already been written in the block of the New Testament text that precedes it in the first column, *Gal* 1:3–5.

More examples like this can be found in the following places:

- *Gal* 1:2 «ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας» (f. 77v)
- *Gal* 1:9 «ὥς προείρηκα καὶ ἄρτι πάλιν λέγω» (f. 78r)
- *Gal* 1:16b «ἐνθέως οὐ προσανεθέμην σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι» (f. 78v)

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<sup>159</sup> See Gibson, S.J., *The Liturgical and Textual Tradition of Acts and Paul in the Byzantine Apostolos Lectionary*, Birmingham, 2015 (unpublished doctoral thesis)

- Gal 1:16b–17a «οὐ προσανεθέμην σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι· οὐδὲ ἀνῆλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἐμοῦ καὶ μὴν ἀπῆλθον» (f. 79v). This, in combination with the previous example, prompts further discussion. In this case not only the phrase «εὐθέως οὐ προσανεθέμην σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι» is written in semi-majuscule as part of the block of the biblical text (f. 78v), but it is also repeated twice (f. 78v and f. 79v) with a sign that indicates that this is a biblical verse. Which one of all these marked texts should be considered as the text of the New Testament of GA 1993? While the answer may focus on the semi-majuscule script, such a policy would lead to Gal 1:17a being overlooked. In the latter verse we observe an interesting variant reading that is not mentioned in the Nestle–Aland 28th edition: *καὶ μὴν* cod.] ἀλλὰ NA28 et al.,. How should somebody transcribe this manuscript for the purposes of a NT edition? Or better, how should this biblical verse be handled for an edition of the biblical text only?
- Gal 3:1 «οἷς κατ’ ὀφθαλμοὺς (scripsi] cod. κατοφθαλμοὺς) Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς (scripsi] cod. ις χς) προεγράφη ἐσταυρωμένος (scripsi] cod. ἐστρωμένος)»

### 5.3.3. *Biblical verse repeated in the next block of biblical text*

Following on from the issue of the repetition of verses in the catena, there is one further similar phenomenon to discuss which is unique in my experience with the manuscripts. This case of repetition occurs not at the change of the quire or folio: instead, the last part of a block with the biblical text in semi-uncial writing, *Gal* 4:1–4a (f. 85v), «ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου», is repeated in the first part of the next block with biblical text in semi-uncial writing, *Gal* 4:4–5 (f. 86r). Given that here there is no change in the wording, this could simply be considered as dittography.

However, the answer advanced to the question in the previous paragraph as to “What do we consider as the text of the New Testament of the GA 1993?” was only the semi-uncial script. Could there be more to this repetition than simply inadvertent dittography? It might have been the case that the compiler—not the scribe here—copied the biblical text from several exemplars. In fact, he may have copied the biblical text from the catena or the commentary that he used for that biblical verse. It would have been fortunate if there was a variant in one of the two biblical blocks which proved that this did indeed happen. At present, however, arguments can only be put forward on the basis of the palaeography of the manuscript. There is no doubt that the scribe of both blocks of biblical text (f. 85v and f. 86r) is the same person. However, a more careful observation of the first block (in f. 85v) will show that at least two words are written in a different way, as they are abbreviated. These are the words «ἡλθ(εν)» (where the letter «θ» is written above the letters «ἡλ») and «χρ(όνου)» (which is written like a christogram), two words that are not often found abbreviated, especially as they are written in a different way on the next page (f. 86r). There are also abbreviations for «ὕπὸ» and «ἔστι» in the same block of text, although these are more common in the semi-uncial blocks of New Testament text elsewhere in the manuscript. So while these palaeographical observations could support the idea of a different exemplar, they are not as compelling as a variant reading or even the slightest alteration or omission.

#### *5.3.4. The catena covers the omission of biblical verses*

The following two sections deal with the treatment of biblical text in the catena, specifically verse which are present in the commentary but not in the lemma.

#### 5.3.4.1. *Biblical text in the commentary*

The following three verses missing from the lemma can be found in the commentary text of the catena:

*Gal* 1.17 (f. 79r): «οὐδὲ ἀνῆλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀποστόλους»

*Gal* 3:10 (f. 84r): «ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς, ὃς οὐκ ἐμμένει πᾶσι τοῖς ἐγγεγραμμένοις. ἐν τῷ  
βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου, τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτὰ»

*Gal* 3:24 (f. 85v): «ὥστε ὁ νόμος παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῶν (ἡμῶν cod.] ἡμῶν NA28 et alii) γέγονε»

#### 5.3.4.2. *Hermeneia of biblical text that is missing*

Additionally, there is a part of the commentary in the catena that fills the gap in the biblical text where certain verses are absent from the lemma.

*Gal.* 3:17–18 (ff. 84v–85r) «Ὅρα τί θέλει διὰ τοῦ ὑποδείγματος τῆς διαθήκης κατασκευᾶσαι... ἀκυροῦται ἡ διαθήκη τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ πρὸς Ἀβραάμ». This corresponds to comment 114 of the Pseudo-Oecumenian Family (see appendix I).

*Gal.* 4:25–31 (ff. 87v–88r) «Τὸ Σινᾶ δὲ ὄρος ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ μὲν ἔστιν... Ἄγαρ καὶ αὐτὸ προσαγορευόμενον». This corresponds to comment 173 of the Pseudo-Oecumenian Family (see appendix I).

In these cases, the commentary which has been excerpted from the original form interprets also verses that are missing and had not been lemmatized.



### 5.3.5. Other texts indicated with diples

There are also other biblical verses, from both the Old Testament and the New Testament, that are found within this catena, written in minuscule and indicated with diples, such as < or <·

f. 79r: “εἶδον γάρ,” φησιν “ματαιότητα, ἄνθρωπον δόξαντα παρ’ ἐαυτῷ φρόνιμον εἶναι· ἐλπίδα μέντοι εἶχεν ἄφρων μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ.” καὶ “οὐαὶ οἱ συνετοὶ παρ’ ἐαυτοῖς, καὶ ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν ἐπιστήμονες.” καὶ αὐτὸς πάλιν· “μὴ γίνεσθε φρόνιμοι παρ’ ἐαυτοῖς.” (Proverbs 26.12)

f. 82v (1): ὁ γὰρ νόμος τοῦ πν(εύματος) τῆς ζωῆς (om. ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ) ἡλευθέρωσέ με· (Rom 8:2a)

f. 82v (2): Μωσῆς φησὶ· (φησὶ cod.) μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας εἶπεν ὅτι NA28 et al.) προφήτην ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει κ(ύριος) ὁ θ(εός)ς (om. ὑμῶν). ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν ὡς ἐμέ· αὐτοῦ ἀκούσεσθε. (Acts 3:22 )

f. 83r (1): Νεκρώσατε γάρ φησι (γάρ φησι cod.) οὖν NA28 et al.] τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν ἅτινα ἔστιν (ἅτινα ἔστιν add. cod.) τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. πορνεία (πορνεία cod.) πορνείαν NA28 et al.), μοιχεία (μοιχεία add. cod.) ἀκαθαρσία (ἀκαθαρσία cod.) ἀκαθαρσίαν NA28 et al.) (Col 3:5)

f. 83r (2): ὁ παλαιὸς ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος συνεσταυρώθη· (Rom 6:6)

All these originate in the source of Typus Vaticanus for a couple of folia (e.g. ff. 79r, 83r–v), which is Typus Parisinus.<sup>160</sup> In comparison with other catenae Typus

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<sup>160</sup> See, Cramer, v. 6 (1844), pp. 41–42.

Parisinus is quite rich in the interpretation of Gal. 2:20, which is supported by all these biblical passages from other books of the Bible. This is probably the reason that Typus Vaticanus opted to copy at this place from Typus Parisinus.

Apart from the biblical quotations which are not from Galatians, there are also a few phrases that are indicated with diples and are not biblical at all. Instead they have a common characteristic, namely that they all appear in Typus Parisinus too. It seems that the person —scribe or reader— who added the diples in front of these lines was possibly misled and considered them as biblical. These texts are the following:

f. 83r : δι' ἧς νεκροῦτε (νεκροῦτε cod] νεκροῦται Chrysostom Typ. Par.) ἡμῶν τὰ μέλη  
(Typus Parisinus, cf. Cramer v. 6, pp. 41-42, Chrysostom *PG* 61.645.49)

f. 83r : ὅπερ ἐν τῷ λουτρῷ γέγονεν (Typus Parisinus, cf. Cramer v. 6, p. 42, Chrysostom *PG* 61.646.1–2)

f. 89r : καὶ γὰρ ἀλλαχοῦ ποῦ φησι κατεπίθυμος ἔστιν ἡ ψυχὴ μου· καὶ τί ἐπιθυμεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ σου καὶ (om. καὶ Typus Parisinus) ποιήσω σοι· καὶ μὴ (om. μὴ Typus Parisinus) πορεύου. κατὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς ψυχῆς σου· καὶ πάλιν· οὕτως ἐπιποθεῖ (ἐπιθυμεῖ) ἡ ψυχὴ μου. (Chrysostom, *PG* 61. 671. 26 and Cramer, v. 6, p. 81).

The last of these texts is probably indicated with diples because it is based in a phrase from the Septuagint: «κατεπίθυμος ἔστιν ἡ ψυχὴ μου» (Psalm 41.2). The first two texts are both by Chrysostom and they are next to a biblical phrase, so (as I mentioned before) probably the person who added the diples in front of these lines had been misled into considering them as biblical.

### 5.3.6. Alterations to the biblical text

There are a few interesting alterations or additions to the biblical text in semi-uncial letters which have not so far been indicated in any apparatus criticus.

*Gal 2:20* (f. 82r): ἀνασταντος cod. ] ἀγαπήσαντός με καὶ παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ  
NA28 et al.

*Gal 3:14* (f. 84r): λάβω cod. ] λάβωμεν διὰ πίστεως NA28 et al.

*Gal 3:10* (f. 84r): ἐγγεγραμμένοις cod. ] γεγραμμένοις NA28 et al.

*Gal 5:19* (f. 89r): add. μοιχεία ante ἀκαθαρσία cod. ] - NA28 et al.

*Gal 5:21* (f. 89r): add. ὅτι post ὑμῖν ] - NA28 et al.

The last of these, as it is the last word of the block of the biblical text, provides a strange reading that interrupts the sentence in an unexpected place. However, it is commonly the practice of the scribe/compiler to leave the last verses of the blocks of biblical text unfinished. This happens in almost fifty per cent of the text. An ungrammatical jump such as this one would therefore not be immediately noticeable to readers.

Searching in the database of the COMPAUL project<sup>161</sup> at the University of Birmingham for quotations of Galatians in Greek authors, I found that the word μοιχεία in this verse is widely used by John of Damascus, but also used once by Theodoret of Cyr (c.

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<sup>161</sup> The COMPAUL project with H. Houghton as the principal investigator has received funding from the European Union Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007–2013) under grant agreement no. 283302 ('The Earliest Commentaries on Paul as Sources for the Biblical Text').

393- c. 460).<sup>162</sup> NA28 gives more patristic evidence with the use of this word in this context by Irenaeus of Lyon and Ambrosiaster, which also shows how old this reading is.

#### 5.4. The catena

Staab claims that the catena in Vaticanus gr. 692 (GA 1993) is an abridgment of the Typus Vaticanus, more especially of the manuscript Vaticanus gr. 762 (GA 1915). However, our investigation has led to different results and in the following paragraphs we will try to show how this is not exactly the case.

##### 5.4.1. The connection with the Pseudo-Oecumenian type

Trying to deconstruct the catena text, using smaller units so as to find the elements from which the catena in Galatians in this manuscript was constituted, we found many comments from the Pseudo-Oecumenian family. This is something that Staab has already mentioned and it is also common characteristic in *1 Corinthians* in this manuscript.<sup>163</sup> More specifically, we can find the following comments: 3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 16, 17, 18, 24, 27, 30, 34, 47, 49, 50, 59, 60, 70, 70a ½ (OIKOYM), 70b (OIKOYM), 71, 70a 2/2\_(OIKOYM), 81, 81b (ANON), 93, 94, 110, 111, 114, 118, 119, 120, 122, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 141, 142, 142b (TENN or OIKOYM), 144, 145, 146, 148, 150, 150a (KYPIA), 150b (OIKOYM), 165, 165a (KYPIA), 170, 171, 172, 173, 190, 200, 211, 212,

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<sup>162</sup> <http://www.epistulae.org/citations>

<sup>163</sup> Staab, 1926, 17–18

218, 219, 223, 231, 232, 232a (OIKOYM), 241, 244, 245, 246, 248, 248a (ANΩN or ΘEOΔΩPHTOY), 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 255, 256.

Some of the comments mentioned above are grouped together and, most of the time, are attributed as a whole to one or two Church Fathers: these are shown by the names in the margin that are found in front of the gathering of the comments, which will be provided in the table below. However, at other times these extended passages remain anonymous. Staab observes that these gatherings of comments are a result of the compiler's desire to create some kind of uniformity in the layout of the text.<sup>164</sup> The scribe writes the comments in continuous text. When he starts an extended comment he writes the first letter of the first word slightly further into the left margin and usually its size is larger. If one of the following comments starts in the middle of a line, he will indicate that there is a comment that starts there by projecting the first letter of the following line slightly further into the left margin and often its size is larger. The same happens with the following comments as well. This practice is called *ekthesis*.<sup>165</sup> This is plausible as another external characteristic that we should take into consideration concerning the original separation of the comments. However, as will be shown later on, it is not always the rule. Sometimes the copyist also uses a stronger punctuation mark, either an upper dot or double dot, whereas at the end of the collection of comments he uses a double-dot followed by a horizontal line or circumflex “:~ or :–” .

The following table serves as an overview of the manuscript, broken down into the individual comments with details of any commentator's names provided in the margin

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<sup>164</sup> Staab, 1926, 17–18.

<sup>165</sup> Houghton- Parker, 2016, p. 5.

and the opening words of each comment. The fact that we find more than one Church Father in one block of text (column two, “name in margin”) is proof of the compiler’s attempt to combine extracts from two or more sources. Some compilers do it in a more successful way, so that one does not easily observe the transition from one Father to another, since the comments are intertwined artfully together, like in Staab’s “sekundärer Erweiterungs-Typus”. However, in this case the scribe or the compiler (I refer to both because in this case we are not sure whether it is a copy or the original manuscript itself, since it is the only manuscript of this type that we have in our hands) tried to indicate that a new comment begins using the practice of *ekthesis* or stronger punctuation, as mentioned earlier.

For the interpretation of the index above it is useful to know the following. The first column shows the location of a comment in the manuscript. The second column shows the abbreviated names of the Church Fathers that can be found either in the left or the right margins, but never in the middle margin. The third column shows the information that can be found in the text about the ownership of the comment. In the fourth column can be found the results after the collation of this manuscript with the Pseudo-Oecumenian Pauline catena tradition. The numbers in the fourth column represent the numbers given to each comment of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena, while the use of fractions is to show whether it is the first (1/2) or the second (2/2) part of the comment of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena. The asterisks represent each comment that is separated with *ekthesis* and cannot be found in the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena. Finally, for this column my comments: 1) “with no distinction” refers only to the previous numbers/comments, 2) “it seems to be split” refers to only the preceding comment, and 3) “paraphrased” refers to only the preceding comment, as well. The fifth column gives the beginning and the end of

every comment or block of comments that is either attributed to a certain author (see second column) or remains anonymous. The sixth column has notes that follow a comment or a block of comments and is always related to the content of the preceding comment. The sixth column has almost the same function as the third column, giving us information about the authorship of the next comment. Their only difference is that the name in the third column stands alone, independent of any comment, either following or preceding, whereas in the sixth column it appears at the end of a comment and refers either to the next comment, or to a comment that would be similar or would agree with the previous comment but is not present in the text. For example on f. 87r there is a comment “*διεφθείρατε φησι... διὰ τῆς κατηχήσεως*” attributed to Chrysostom (“*Ιω*” ) and after the comment there is the information that Theodoret agrees, meaning that he wrote something similar in his work. This way the compiler strengthens an interpretation without repeating the same ideas in this catena and using up parchment with such repetitions.

folio	name in margin	name in text OR preceded by	comm. Number	initia	followed by
77r– 77v	Υπ(όθεσις) – ’Ιω(άννης) – ΘΤ		Προοίμιο Θεοδωρητου, 3, 5, 6	Τὸ μὲν προοίμιον... ἀλλὰ τῆς Γαλατίας	
77v	ΘΤ	-	9, 10, 11 1/2	’Ιδοῦ ἑαυτὸν δέδωκεν... ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ο Χ(ριστὸς)	τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Χρυσόστομος διὰ πολλῶν
78r	Ιω κ(αί) Θτ	-	16, 17, 18	ἵνα μὴ τις εἴπῃ... τὸ ὅσονδῆποτε φησὶ τὸ μικρὸν	
78r	Ιω	-	*/*	οὐχ ἀπλῶς...οὕτως ἐξήνεγκε τὸ λεχθέν	
78r–v	Ιω	-	*	τίνοz ἐνεκεν... ἀπέστη τοῦ νόμου	
78v	Θτ	ἄλλος φησὶν	24	ἐπειδὴ τὴν γενομένην... καταφρονῶσιν αὐτοῦ	
78v	Οἴκου(μένιου)	-	27 1/2	τὸ δὲ προέκοπτον...παρὰ	

				Ἰουδαίοις.	
	ΘΤ	-	30, *, 34, *	εἰ ἐκ κοιλίας... πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀποστόλους	
79r–80r	Ιω	καὶ ἄλλος φησὶν	*/*/*/*/*	εὐθέως οὐ... οὐ προσανεθέμην ἄλλα εὐθέως	
80r–v	Ιω κ(αὶ) Θεοδ/	-	47, 49, 50	καὶ τίνος ἔνεκεν... εἰς κενὸν τρέχω	
80v	Ιω	-	*/*	ὁ παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν... ὑποπιστεύοντας ὅτι οὐκ εἰς κενὸν τρέχω	
80v–81r	ΘΤ	-	59, 60	ἀπὸ τῶν δοκούντων... ὁποῖοί ποτε ἦσαν	
81r	ΘΤ	-	70 (it seems to be split)	οὐ μάχης... διαλεχθῆναι, προσεαυτοῦς.	
81r	Εὐς	Εὐσέβιος δὲ ὁ Παμφίλου ἀποδείκνυσιν ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησιαστικῇ Ἱστορίᾳ	70a 1/2	μὴ εἶναι τοῦτον... τοιαύτης οἰκονομίας	
81v	Οἴκου(μένιου)		70b, 71, 70a 2/2	ἰστέον μέντοι... τῷ Κορνήλιῳ συνέφαγεν.	
81v–82r	-	-	81	πληρώσας τὰ κατὰ... σωθῆναι προσδοκῶντες	
82r	-	ἄλλος φησὶν	81b	τὰ ἀναγκαῖα τοῦ... ἔργων νόμου	
82r	σχόλ(ιον) Κλημ	-	*	ζῶ δὲ φησὶν... υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ	
82r–83v	Ιω	-	*/*/*/*/*	διπλὴν ἔχει τοῦτο... ἐπὶ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ	τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ Θεόδωρος
83v	ΘΤ κ(αὶ) ΙΩ	-	93 2/3, *, 93 3/3	ἀνοήτους αὐτοὺς... πρὸ τούτου πράττοντας	
83v	Ιω	-	94	καὶ μὴν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ... παρόντα αὐτὸν ἴδετε	
84r	ΘΤ	-	110, 111 1/2 (with no distinction)	ἀντίθεσιν ὑπαντῶσαν... δέδονται αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι	καὶ ἄλλως τὸ προκείμενον νοηθήσεται
84r–v	Ιω	-	*	ὁ μὲν λαὸς... ἵνα λύσῃ ἐκείνην	
84v	σχόλ(ιον)	-	*	μετὰ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν... πᾶς χρόνος ἔτη υλ'	
84v–	-	-	114	ὄρα τί θέλει... ἡ πρὸς Ἀβραάμ	



85r					
85r	Ιω – Θτ	-	118, 119, 120, 122 (with no distinction)	ὡς ἐξ ἀντιθέσεως...ἐκπεπολεμωμένους	
85r-v	ΘΤ κ(αι)Οίκου	-	129, 130, 131, 132 (with no distinction), 133	καὶ γὰρ τὴν τυχοῦσαν...ἡμῖν καταφανῶν	
85v-86r	Ιω – Θτ	-	141, 142	καλῶς παρήγαγεν... ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα εἶπεν	
86r	Οίκου(μένιου)	ἄλλος φησὶν	142b	ἐν τάξει τῶν ἐπιτρόπων... ἀλλ' ἔωλα ἐσθίειν	εἶπεν δέ τι ξένον εἰς τοῦτο καὶ Εὐσέβιος ἐν λόγῳ δ' τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς ἀποδείξεως
86v	Ιω – Θτ	-	144, 145 (Distinction with double dot), 146	οὐκ εἶπεν διὰ γυναικὸς... πάλιν πρὸς τὸν νόμον	
86v	Φωτ	ἄλλως	*/ΣΗΜ-ΩΡ	γεννώμενον δεῖ... ἐκφώνησιν ποιῆσθαι	
87r	ΘΤ	-	148, 150	πρὸς τοῦ ἐξ Ἰουδαίων...ἔχοντα πρὸς δικαίωσιν	
87r	Οίκου(μένιου)	ἄλλος δὲ φησὶν	150b	ἀσθενῇ καὶ πτωχῶ...αἰσθήσεως καὶ ζωῆς	
87r	Κυ	ὁ δὲ ἅγιος Κύριλλος ἐν βιβλίῳ στ' τῆς ἐν πν(εύματι) λατρείας	150a	στοιχεῖα κόσμου... κόσμου λέγει	
87r	Ιω	-	165	διαφθείρατε φησι... διὰ τῆς κατηχήσεως	τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ Θεοδώρητος
87r-v	Κυ	ἄλλως	*	τεκνία μου οὖς... διαπλασθῶσι νοῦν	
87v	Ιω – Θτ	-	170, 171 (with no distinction)	δεῖξαι βούλεται... μόνης τῆς ἐπαγγελίας	
87v	Ιω κ(αι) Θτ	-	172	ἄτινα ἔστι... ἔστιν ἀλληγορία	
87v-88r	-	-	173 (it seems to be split)	τὸ Σινᾶ δὲ ... προσαγορευόμενον	
88r-v	Ιω	-	190, */*/*/*/	τῇ ἀξιοπιστίᾳ... μὴδὲ τὸ μέρος	

88v	ΘΤ	-	200	ἵνα μὴ λέγωσι... ἐὰν μὴ διορθώσῃσθε	
88v	ΘΤ	-	211, 212 (with no distinction)	κατὰ πνεῦμα... τὰς φαύλας πορεύεσθαι	τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ Οἰκουμένιος
89r	Ιω	καὶ ἄλλος ὁμοίως φησὶν	*	ψυχὴ σώματι... οὐ τοῦ σώματος	
89r-v	Ιω	-	*	Ὅρᾷς ὅτι οὐ... κληρονομήσουσιν	
89v	ΘΤ	-	219, 218	τέως μὲν γὰρ... μετὰ μέθης	
89v	Ιω	-	*	Οὐκ εἶπεν τὸ ἔργον... τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ φιλαν(θρωπ)ίας	
89v	Ιω	-	*	σάρκα πάλιν... καὶ στοιχῶμεν	
89v	ΘΤ	καὶ ἄλλως	*, 223 1/2	ἐπειδὴ εἶπεν ὅτι ὁ καρπός... τὸ δὲ παρέλκεται	
89v-90r	Οἰκου(μένιου)	ἢ οὕτως	223 2/2	καὶ τί λέγω... σάρκα ἔστ(αὐ)ρῶσαν	οὕτως Κλήμης ἐν ε΄ Ὑποτυπώσεων
90r	-	-	231 2/2, 232 (with no distinction)	παραίνει μὴ... αἱ ἐντολαὶ τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ	
90r	ΘΤ	ἢ ὅτι	232a ΩΡ	τὸ τὰ ἀλλήλων βάρη... τοῦ θεοῦ νόμου	
90r	Ιω – Θτ	-	241 2/2	ἐπειδὴ θερισμοῦ... πόνον ὑπονοήσητε	
90r-v	Ιω	-	*/*/244	ἐνταῦθα οὐδὲν ... οὐ κηρύσσω περιτομὴν	
90v	-	-	245, 246 (with no distinction)	ὅσοι θέλουσιν... ἄρχονται καὶ διώκονται	
90v	ΘΤ	-	248a, 248 1/2, 249 (with no distinction)	ὥς χαλεπὸν τι... παντελῶς ἀνεργητόν	
90v-91r	Ιω	καὶ ἄλλος φησὶν	*/*	ὥσπερ τι τῶν... καὶ ἐγὼ ἐκείνοις	
91r	-	-	251, 250, 252 (paraphrased)	ὅσοι φησὶ τῷ κανόνι... ὁρῶντας τὸν θ(εο)ν	
91r	Ιω	-	253 1/2, 255 1/2	τοῦτο οὐκ ὀκνῶν ... ἀνυποκρίτως πολιτεύεσθαι	
91r	-	-	256	σὺν τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ... ἐπεύχεται γενέσθαι	

Table 14: Overview of Typus Vaticanus, cod. *Vat. gr.* 692 (GA 1993)

I would also like to comment on the second and third column, that are related by the authorship of the comments. Summarizing the data of the index we see that John Chrysostom alone is mentioned sixteen times in the margins, Theodoret thirteen times, Oecumenius five times, Cyril of Alexandria twice, whereas Eusebius of Caesarea, Clement of Alexandria and Photius are mentioned once each. Although all these names are accurate, they must have been added at a later stage in the history of the text, as the following evidence makes clear. Only what is included in the main body of the text (third column) has a claim to be part of the original, although this is less precise as it uses just phrases such as: *ἄλλος φησίν, καὶ ἄλλος ὁμοίως φησίν, ἄλλος δὲ φησίν, ἄλλως, ἢ οὕτως, ἢ ὅτι*. It makes no sense to use *ἄλλος φησίν* for an extract from the well-known Chrysostom at the same time as providing his initials in the margin. Given that they occur in the margin, the initial must therefore be later. However, as the names in the margins seem to have been written by the same hand, which wrote the main text, this suggests that this manuscript is a copy of another in which the names had already been added. The absence of the names in the body of the commentary – indeed, the apparent attempt to obscure the source of the comments – would have made it strange if the compiler had added this information in the margin. What is more, the compiler would have had the information about each source to hand when making the compilation, yet chose not to supply it.

Nevertheless, the abovementioned introductory phrases *ἄλλος φησίν, καὶ ἄλλος ὁμοίως φησίν, ἄλλος δὲ φησίν, ἄλλως, ἢ οὕτως, ἢ ὅτι*, are followed by an extract from a Church Father, and introduce only the second or third part of the discussion related with a certain biblical text. In this case, if the first comment is attributed to Chrysostom –

according to the indication in the margin – the second comment after the introductory words of the third column, will be attributed to Theodoret, and if there is a third this will be attributed to Oecumenius (see for example on f. 89v). It could also be the other way round, with Theodoret coming first, then an agreement with Oecumenius and then Chrysostom follows (see for example the comments on Gal 5:16–17 on ff. 89v–90r). However, there are further combinations. There are few instances when two names are combined together. There are three different ways for the combination of John Chrysostom with Theodoret of Cyr: a) Ιω – Θτ (John–Theodoret, five times), b) Ιω κ(αὶ) Θτ (John and Theodoret, twice), c) Θτ κ(αὶ) Ιω (Theodoret and John, once). We also find Θτ κ(αὶ) Οἰκου/ (Theodoret and Oecumenius, once) and Ιω κ(αὶ) Θεοδ/ (once). It is also notable that these combinations in the margins are found only next to interpretations that are never followed by the information that another author is of the same opinion. A comparison of columns two and six helps to understand this. Thus, these combinations in the margins are used for the same reason as the information at the end of an interpretation, namely to strengthen an interpretation with the authority of the used names. It is rather intriguing when we see that all the comments that are related to these combined attributions are from the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena. Other interesting observations are that there are a few half comments from the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena and that there are no comments from the second stage of the *Corpus Extravagantium*.<sup>166</sup> Also, comments 49, 50<sup>167</sup> and 252 are paraphrased in Vaticanus gr. 692 (GA 1993).

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<sup>166</sup> See the chapter 3 about the Pseudo-Oecumenian group II.

<sup>167</sup> For example, «Ἀλλὰ ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις πάντες ἐσκανδαλίζοντο, εἴ τις παραβαίη τὸν νόμον, εἴ τις κωλύει χρῆσασθαι τῇ περιτομῇ· διὸ καὶ ἔλεγε, Θεωρεῖς, ἀδελφε, πόσαι μυριάδες εἰσὶ τῶν πεπιστευκότων; καὶ οὗτοι πάντες εἰσὶ κατηχημένοι περὶ σοῦ, ὅτι ἀποστασίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου διδάσκεις· ἐπεὶ

Finally, I should say that although this catena has clear signs that it does not derive from the stage IV of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena, whose main characteristic is the addition of the *Scholia Photiana*, there is one comment in f. 86v with the indication ΦΩΤ. Indeed, this comes from the Amphilochia.<sup>168</sup>

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οὖν ἐσκανδαλίζοντο, παρρησία μὲν παρελθεῖν καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα ἀποκαλύψαι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ οὐκ ἠνείχετο· κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκοῦσιν ἀνέθετο ἐπὶ Βαρνάβα καὶ Τίτου, ἵνα οὗτοι μάρτυρες ἀξιόπιστοι γένωνται πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκαλοῦντας, ὅτι οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἔδοξεν ἐναντίον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ βεβαιοῦσι τὸ κήρυγμα τὸ τοιοῦτον. Ὅταν δὲ λέγῃ, *Τοῖς δοκοῦσιν*, οὐκ ἀναιρῶν τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς μεγάλους τοῦτο λέγει· ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ φησι, *Δοκῶ δὲ καὶ γὰρ Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἔχειν*· ὅπερ ἐστὶ μετριάζοντος, οὐκ ἀναιροῦντος τὸ ἔχειν. Οὕτω καὶ ἐνταῦθα. *Τοῖς δοκοῦσι*, φησὶ, μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἀπάντων λέγων ψῆφον.», Chrysostom, PG 61. 633.

<sup>168</sup> See, Laourdas, B., and Westerink, L.G., *Photii patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistulae et Amphilochia*, vols. 1–6.2 [*Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (BT)*] Leipzig: Teubner, 1983–1988. Epistle 227 :

Title: «Ἐξἀπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ γεννόμενον» δεῖ λέγειν ἢ «γενόμενον», δι' ἑνὸς «ν» ἢ διὰ δύο;

«Γενόμενον» δεῖ λέγειν «ἐκ γυναικός», ὥσπερ καὶ «γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον», διὰ τοῦ ἑνὸς ἀμεταβόλου· πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τῆς συνεχοῦς παραθέσεως τῶν νοημάτων τε καὶ ῥημάτων, δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι γεγέννηται μὲν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκ παρθένου, τῶν δύο γραφομένων κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν συλλαβὴν ἀμεταβόλων, οὐ μὴν δὲ γεννᾶται· ἅπαξ γὰρ ἐκ παρθένου γεγέννηται. μηδενὶ δὲ ἢ τοῦ θεολόγου Γρηγορίου φωνὴ πλάνης αἴτιον γινέσθω· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἔφησεν «Χριστὸς γεννᾶται», οὐχ ὅτι διὰ παντὸς ἐκ παρθένου γεννᾶται, ἀλλ' ὅτι γε ἡ παροῦσα τότε πανήγυρις τῆς τοῦ δεσπότητος γεννήσεως ἐτύγγανεν ἡμέρα· διὸ παντὶ τρόπῳ φυλακτέον τοῦ «γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός» διὰ τῶν δύο «νν» μήτε τὴν γραφὴν μήτε τὴν ἐκφώνησιν ποιεῖσθαι.

#### 5.4.2. The relationship to the Pseudo-Oecumenian group II

Following the observation in the previous section (5.4.1) that comments from the second stage of the *Corpus Extravagantium* are not present in Vaticanus gr. 692 (GA 1993), we can begin to be more specific about the relationship with the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena. A comparative study of the Pseudo-Oecumenian passages of Vat. gr. 692 (GA 1993) not only with the group III of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena, but also with Atheniensis gr. 100 (GA 075) and Mediolanensis Ambrosianus gr. A. 62 inf. (GA 1980), the two manuscripts that comprise the earliest known form of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena, type II, has shown that they have many similarities.<sup>169</sup>

First of all, the prooemium that is usually found in the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena with the title: «Προοίμιον Θεοδωρήτου» (Init. Τὸ μὲν προοίμιον...) before the exposition of the verses of *Galatians*, takes the first place among the extracts of the exposition after the first verses of the biblical text in Vat. gr. 692 (GA 1993). This is also exactly what happens with Atheniensis gr. 100 (GA 075) and Mediolanensis Ambrosianus gr. A. 62 inf. (GA 1980). The only difference is that in the latter two it is numbered (α'), but this is not the case in Vaticanus gr. 692 (GA 1993) because no other comment is numbered in this manuscript.

Concerning the text itself, there are a number of different readings between these three usually-identical sources which show the relationship between these manuscripts. Examples of these are shown in the following table:

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<sup>169</sup> More details about this can be found in the comparative table between representative manuscripts of different catena types on *Galatians*. The table can be found as an Appendix at the end of the current thesis.

	“Typus Vaticanus”		Ps-Oecumenian group II		Pseudo- Oecumenian stage III
comm. in ps- Oec.  catena	Name in margin GA1993-	GA1993	GA75	GA1980	
70	ΘΤ	συνεχώρουν την περιτομήν			συνεχωροῦντο περιτομήν
		ὅτε δὲ παρεγένοντο οἱ ἐξ Ἰουδαίων	ὅτε δὲ παρεγένοντο		ὅτε δὲ παρεγένοντο οἱ ἐξ Ἱερουσαλήμ
		0			Ὡς εἴρηται
		0			φανερῶς τι δῆποτε μὴ συνεσσι τοῖς ἀκροβύστοις
		εἰ γάρ	ὥς εἶγε		
70a	1/2 EΥΣ  2/2 post 71	ἀποδείκνυσαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ ἱστορία			ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ ἱστορία ἀποδείκνυσαι
		τοῦτον τὸν κορυφαῖον Πέτρον	τὸν Κηφᾶν τοῦτον τὸν Πέτρον		
70a	2/2 post 71   1/2 EΥΣ πιο πάνω	0			εἰ μὴ γὰρ προκατεγνώσθη παρ’ αὐτῶν σκανδαλισθέντων ἐκεῖ , οὐκ ἂν νῦν ὑπεστάλη . μὴ ὑποσταλέντος δὲ , οὐκ ἦν χρεία τοῦ τε ἐλέγχου , τῆς τε κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀντιστάσεως . τί δὲ ὅλως ὠφελεῖ ἡ κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀντίστασις;
70b	Οἴκου	ἰστέον μέντοι			0
		0	ἡμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοὶ		
		ἐάν			εἰ
		0			ἐμπροσθεν πάντων
		0	καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπιστεῦσαμεν· ἵνα δικαιωθῶμεν ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ· καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου		
		μεταξὺ σοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ μόνου	κατ’ ἰδίαν ἀπειθοῦντι δὲ καὶ ἐτέρους καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπίστησεν		
71	NO SIGN	0	ἄπαγε post εἰδότος		
		οἰομένων ὑπὸ κρίσιν εἶναι			ὑποκρίνειν / ὑποκρίνεσθαι διὰ
118	ΙΩ - ΘΤ *	αὐτῷ			αὐτοῖς
122	*	ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου τουτέστι τοῦ Χριστοῦ			ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου ἐδόθη φησὶ διὰ χειρὸς μεσίτου τουτέστι τοῦ Χριστοῦ
130	*	ἐφύλαττεν δὲ ἡμᾶς	φυλαττομένους φησὶ		
132	*	τῇ πίστει			τῇ πίστει καὶ τῇ ἀφέσει
133	*	ἀπαλλαγῇναι			τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν
141	ΙΩ - ΘΤ	0	τί γάρ; ὅτι ὥριστο παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μηδὲν διοικεῖν , ἄχρι τῆς νόμιμης ἡλικίας .		

	*		
142	*	νεομηνίας	νοομηνίας
		νεομηνία	νοομηνία
142b	Οικον - ἄλλος φησί   Ευσέβιος	οἷς ἤμεν διὰ τὸ τῆς γνώσεως ἀτελεῖς <b>συμφερόντως δεδουλωμένοι</b>	οἷς ἤμεν <b>δεδουλωμένοι</b> διὰ τὸ τῆς γνώσεως ἀτελεῖς
		Σάββασιν καὶ ἐν νεομηνίας	Σαββάτοις καὶ νοομηνίας
		Σάββασιν	Σαββάτοις
165a	ΚΥ (margin) - ἄλλως (in textu)	<b>Τεκνία μου οὖς πάλιν</b> ὠδίνω	οὖς ὠδίνω
172	ΙΩ - ΘΤ *	γενέσεις	γεννήσεις
173	*	τύπος <b>ἐστιν</b> τῆς παλαιᾶς	τύπος <b>ἦν</b> τῆς παλαιᾶς
	*		
200	ΘΤ	0	ἐγὼ πέποιθα εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν κω <sup>τ</sup> · θαρρῶ ὑμῖν, φησί, θαρρῶ ἐν κω <sup>τ</sup> ὅτι διορθώσεσθε, καὶ οὐδὲν φρονήσετε παρὰ τὴν διδασχὴν μου · τοῦτο δὲ · παραθαυρόντως
241	2/2 Ιω- Θτ	* <b>μόγθον καὶ πόνον</b> ὑπονόησθε	πάλιν καὶ τότε <b>μόγθον</b> ὑπονόησθε
			πάλιν καὶ τότε <b>μόγθειν</b> ὑπονόησθε
244	NO SIGN*	τὸ <b>δε</b> πληλικοῖς, οὐ <b>μεγέθος</b> ἐστὶ <b>μόνον</b> δηλωτικόν, <b>ἀλλά καὶ</b> ἀμορφίας τῶν γραμμάτων	τὸ , πληλικοῖς , οὐ μεγέθους ἐστὶ δηλωτικόν , ἀλλὰ ἀμορφίας τῶν γραμμάτων
246	*	ἦ καὶ οὕτως	οὕτω νοήσεις
		ἄρχονται καὶ διώκονται	ἄρχονται · διώκονται
			ἄρχονται καὶ <b>διοικόνται</b>
251	*	ὑποθήσουσι	ὑποθήσωσι
			ὑποθήσουσι
			ὑποθῶσι
253	1/2 *ΙΩ	οὐκ ὀκνῶν ἔλεγεν	οὐχ ὀκνῶν ἔλεγε
			* οὐχ ὀκνῶν ἔλεγεν —, согг. οὐκ ὀκνῶν ἔλεγε
255	1/2 *	χν <sup>τ</sup>	κν <sup>τ</sup>

Table 15: Comparison between Typus Vaticanus – Pseudo-Oecumenian types II and III

As we can see in the table, there are many common readings between the Typus Vaticanus and the Pseudo-Oecumenian group II that are different from the readings in the Pseudo-Oecumenian stage III. These may be categorized in three groups. In the first group we find text in the Pseudo-Oecumenian stage III that cannot be found in both Typus Vaticanus and the Pseudo-Oecumenian group II . This text can be a longer addition, as in the following examples:



- φανερώς τι δήποτε μὴ συνεστι τοῖς ἀκροβύστοις (comm. 70)
- εἰ μὴ γὰρ προκατεγνώσθη παρ' αὐτῶν σκανδαλισθέντων ἐκεῖ, οὐκ ἄν νῦν ὑπεστάλη. μὴ ὑποσταλέντος δὲ, οὐκ ἦν χρεία τοῦ τε ἐλέγχου, τῆς τε κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀντιστάσεως. τί δὲ ὅλως ὠφελεῖ ἢ κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀντίστασις; (comm. 70a)

or it can be a shorter addition, such as:

- Ὡς εἴρηται (comm. 70)
- ἔμπροσθεν πάντων (comm. 70b)
- ἐδόθη φησὶ διὰ χειρὸς μεσίτου (comm. 122)
- καὶ τῇ ἀφέσει (comm. 132)

All these additions have the common characteristic that their aim is to clarify further the text.

The second group of changes in Pseudo-Oecumenian stage III which do not exist in both Typus Vaticanus and the Pseudo-Oecumenian stage II are changes of style. For example:

“Typus Vaticanus” – Ps.-Oec. type II

Ps.-Oec. Type III

- |                              |                            |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| • ἀπαλλαγῆναι                | – τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν            |
| • νεομηνίαις                 | – νουμηνίαις               |
| • νεομηνίαι                  | – νουμηνίαι                |
| • Σάββασιν καὶ ἐν νεομηνίαις | – Σαββάτοις καὶ νουμηνίαις |
| • Σάββασιν                   | – Σαββάτοις                |
| • γενέσεις                   | – γεννήσεις                |

As we can see, the “*Typus Vaticanus*” and the Pseudo-Oecumenian group II share readings that could be generally described as being of higher linguistic style. The different endings in the dative plural of the noun «τὸ Σάββατον» are «Σάββασι(ν)» (which is the right one according to the rules of ancient Greek Grammar), and «Σαββάτοις» (which is only an adjustment of the spoken language that has finally dominated). The word «νεομηνίαι(ς)» seems to be in a more pure form in order to show clearly the etymology of the word, and of course precedes the form «νουμηνίαι(ς)» with the synaeresis (εο > ου). In the same sense, the use of an infinitive is considered more difficult than the use of a noun, e.g. in the case of «ἀπαλλαγῆναι» and «τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν».

Third, we notice that the Pseudo-Oecumenian stage III situates itself at some distance from the original text. Perhaps this is a result of chronological distance, or because of the several stages of compilation up to this point. An example for this is at comment 173, where the representative manuscripts of the *Typus Vaticanus* and the Pseudo-Oecumenian stage II have «τύπος ἔστιν τῆς παλαιᾶς», whereas the Pseudo-Oecumenian stage III has «τύπος ἦν τῆς παλαιᾶς». The difference between the present and the imperfect tenses signifies this distance, as if in indirect speech. The Pseudo-Oecumenian catena in stage III also removes other characteristics of direct speech, such as the vocative case in comment 165a, where the phrase «Τεκνία μου οὕς πάλιν ὠδίνω» becomes «οὕς ὠδίνω». All these changes show the priority of the *Typus Vaticanus* and the “*Urkatena*” against the Pseudo-Oecumenian stage III.

However, there are also shared readings between the Pseudo-Oecumenian type II and the Pseudo-Oecumenian type III that *Typus Vaticanus* does not follow most of the time (for example in comments 70b, 71, 141, 200, 244, 255). Some of these are less important, but in two cases we have some evidence for the possible reason that this has

happened. Comments 141 and 200 «τί γάρ; ὅτι ὥριστο παρά τοῦ πατρὸς μηδὲν διοικεῖν, ἄχρι τῆς νόμιμης ἡλικίας.» and «ἐγὼ πέποιθα εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν κω· θαρρῶ ὑμῖν, φησὶν, θαρρῶ ἐν κω· ὅτι διορθώσεσθε, καὶ οὐδὲν φρονήσετε παρὰ τὴν διδαχὴν μου· τοῦτο δὲ παραθαρρύνοντος» in Atheniensis gr. 100 (GA 075) both feature a double dot before the phrases which are not present in Vaticanus gr. 692 (GA 1993). This is probably the reason why Vaticanus gr. 692 (GA 1993) has opted not to use the following phrases. Its compiler must have thought that these were two different comments or could have been two different comments in a previous stage. This should not, however, be taken as an indication that Atheniensis gr. 100 (GA 075) was the exemplar for Vaticanus gr. 692 (GA 1993): there are other readings that show a connection with Mediolanensis Ambrosianus gr. A. 62 inf. (GA 1980), for example in comments 251 and 253. In the latter case it agrees with the corrector, after the correction of the breathing in «ὀκνῶ» and the subsequent correction of «οὐχ» to «οὐκ». Finally, there are other cases in which there is no agreement between the three of them, for example in comments 241, 246 and 151. This could have happened due to additional mistakes that their scribes made while transcribing from an older manuscript than the two Pseudo-Oecumenian group II witnesses which must have been used as an exemplar for the Pseudo-Oecumenian comments by the Typus Vaticanus.

#### *5.4.3. The connection with Typus Parisinus*

In Vat. gr. 692 (GA 1993) at the end of a comment on f. 83v there is a reference to the name Θεόδωρος, «τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ Θεόδωρος», who must be Theodore of Mopsuestia.

However, no text is present, leading to the unusual situation of a reference which indicates that Theodore said something similar to what has already been mentioned, but without having his text provided. Tracking down this text proved to be a challenge. Although Staab has almost one hundred pages dedicated to Theodore of Mopsuestia, there is no single comment in Galatians.<sup>170</sup> A search for the origins of the preceding comment in the Thesaurus Linguae Graece (TLG) online also brought up nothing. I then identified the comment in folia 83r–v, *Οὐκ εἶπεν δὲ ζῶ τῷ Χριστῷ· ἀλλ’ ὁ ... ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ*, as coming from Typus Parisinus apart from a section in the middle of the comment: *Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔλεγεν, συνεσταύρωμαι καὶ οὐκέτι ζῶ· καὶ ἀπέθανον· καὶ ἐδώκει πολλοῖς ἀπίθανα λέγειν· ἐπήγαγεν*. The following table shows the exact relationship of the whole text of this comment with Typus Parisinus.

#### Typus Vaticanus (GA 1993)

οὐκ εἶπε ζῶ τῷ Χριστῷ, ἀλλ’ ὁ πολὺ πλεόν ἦν, “ζῆ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ ὁ Χριστός.”

Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἡ ἁμαρτία ὅταν κρατήσῃ, αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ζῶσα, πρὸς ἃ βούλεται τὴν ψυχὴν ἄγουσα, οὕτως ἂν ἐκείνης νεκρωθείσης, τὰ Χριστῷ δοκοῦντα γίνεται, οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνῃ λοιπὸν

#### Typus Parisinus (GA 1910)

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εὐήνιον ἑαυτὸν τῷ Χριστῷ κατεσκεύασε, καὶ πάντα ἐξέβαλε τὰ βιωτικά, καὶ πρὸς τὸ θέλημα τὸ ἐκείνου πάντα ἔπραττεν, οὐκ εἶπε ζῶ τῷ Χριστῷ, ἀλλ’ ὁ πολλῷ πλεῖον ἦν, “ζῆ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ ὁ Χριστός.”

Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἡ ἁμαρτία ὅταν κρατήσῃ, αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ζῶσα, πρὸς ἃ βούλεται τὴν ψυχὴν ἄγουσα, οὕτως ἂν ἐκείνης νεκρωθείσης, τὰ Χριστῷ δοκοῦντα γίνεται, οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπίνῃ λοιπὸν ἐστὶν ἡ τοιαύτη ζῶν, αὐτοῦ ζῶντος ἐν ἡμῖν, τουτέστιν, ἐνεργοῦντος, κρατοῦντος.

Ἄλλος δὲ φησιν· ὁ νόμος, σωματικῶν ἔχει τὴν

<sup>170</sup> Staab 1933, 113–212.

ἔστιν ἡ τοιαύτη ζώη, αὐτοῦ ζῶντος  
ἐν ἡμῖν, ἐνεργοῦντος.

ἐργασίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν· τὸ δὲ φάγε, καὶ τόδε μὴ  
φάγῃς· Σάββατον τήρησον, περιτομήν· ἡ χάρις οὐ  
βούλεται σε διὰ τούτων εὐδοκιμεῖν ἐνεκρῶθ.....  
τούτοις τὴν χρεῖαν ἔχω νόμου· ζῶ ..... ἐγὼ, ζῆ δὲ ἐμοὶ  
ὁ Χριστός· ὁ ἐγὼ ἔζων ἐμαντῶ, ὑπὸ νόμον ἤμην·  
ἐπειδὴ δὲ Χριστὸς ζῆ ἐν ἐμοὶ, ὁ μηκέτι ὑπὸ νόμον ἀλλ’  
ἐν οὐρανοῖς, ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρὸς, οὐκ ἀθετῶ τὸν ἐν  
ἐμοὶ ζῶντα.

*Ὁ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκί, ἐν πίστει ζῶ.*

Πιστεύω γὰρ εἰς τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ· εἰ δὲ ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ  
Θεοῦ ᾧ πιστεύω, ἐν δεξιά τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἐν οὐρανοῖς  
πολιτεύομαι· ὁ δὲ νόμος, ἐν τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς εἶχε τὰς  
τηρήσεις· οὐκ ἄρα ὑπόκειμαι νόμῳ.

τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ Θεόδωρος (f. 83v,  
coll.1)

(Θεόδωρος.) Ἄλλος πάλιν ὧδε φησὶν· ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ  
βαπτίσματι τοῦ τε θανάτου καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τύπον  
ἐπλήρουν, συσταυροῦσθαι ἐλέγοντο τῷ Χριστῷ· ὡς ἂν  
αὐτοῦ μὲν διὰ σταυροῦ τὸν θάνατον δεξαμένου καὶ  
ἀναστάντος, αὐτοὶ δὲ κατὰ τύπον τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἐν  
τοῖς ὁμοίοις γιγνόμενοι, ἐπ’ ἐλπίδι τοῦ καὶ πάντη πότε  
μετασχεῖν τῶν ὁμοίων, ὅταν τῆς κοινῆς πάντων  
ἀναστάσεως ἐν τῇ τοῦ αἰῶνος συντελείᾳ τὸν καιρὸν  
παρεῖναι συμβαίνη· τοῦτο οὖν λέγει· “ὅτι  
συνεσταύρωμαι,” φησὶν, “τῷ Χριστῷ·” οὐδὲ μίαν πρὸς  
τὴν παροῦσαν ταύτην ζωὴν κοινωνίαν ἔχων, ἐν ᾗ κατὰ  
νόμον πολιτεύεσθαι ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκη.

*Ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγὼ, ζῆ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός.*

Τῷ τὴν ἐκείνου ζωὴν ζῆν τὴν ἀθάνατον· ἃ γὰρ ἐπὶ  
τῶν πραγμάτων ἔσται τότε, ταῦτα ὡς ἤδη γεγεννημένα  
λέγει.

ὁ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκί, ἐν πίστει ζῶ

Καὶ Ἄλλος πάλιν φησὶ, “ζῆ ἐν ἐμοὶ ὁ Χριστός·” ὁ μὴ  
ὑποκείμενος νόμῳ, ὑπὲρ νόμον ὢν ὡς Υἱός· ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ  
τὸν ζῶντα ἐν ἐμοὶ, ὥσπερ οἱ δεχόμενοι τὰς αὐγὰς τὰς

τῇ τοῦ Υἱοῦ· τὰ μὲν εἰρημένα μοί  
περὶ τῆς νοερᾶς ζωῆς, φησὶ

ὅσον γὰρ εἰς τὴν παλαιὰν πολιτείαν  
καὶ τὸν νόμον, ἐσχάτης κολάσεως  
ἄξιος ἦμην, καὶ πάλαι ἂν  
ἀπολώλειν· “πάντες γὰρ ἡμαρτον  
καὶ ὑστεροῦνται τῆς δόξης τοῦ  
Θεοῦ.” καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀπόφασιν ἡμᾶς  
κειμένους,

ἐλθὼν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ εἰς θάνατον  
ἐαυτὸν ἐκδοὺς, πάντας ἡμᾶς  
ἐξήρπασε τοῦ θανάτου· ὥστε “ὁ  
νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκί, ἐν πίστει ζῶ”  
τουτέστι, διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν  
πίστιν ζῶ. ἐπεὶ, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο ἦν,  
οὐδὲν ἐκώλυε πάντας  
ἀφανισθῆναι· ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ  
κατακλυσμοῦ

ἡλιακὰς φωτεινοὶ καὶ διειδεῖς, υἱός· ὁ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν  
**σαρκί, ἐν πίστει ζῶ τῇ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ· τὰ μὲν  
εἰρημένα μοί** φησιν, **περὶ τῆς νοερᾶς ζωῆς** εἰ δὲ τίς  
καὶ ταύτην ἐξετάζοι τὴν αἰσθητὴν, καὶ αὕτη διὰ τὴν εἰς  
Χριστὸν μου πίστιν γέγονεν. **ὅσον γὰρ εἰς τὴν  
παλαιὰν πολιτείαν καὶ τὸν νόμον, ἐσχάτης  
κολάσεως ἄξιος ἦμην, καὶ πάλαι ἂν ἀπολώλειν·  
“πάντες γὰρ ἡμαρτον καὶ ὑστεροῦνται τῆς δόξης  
τοῦ Θεοῦ.” καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀπόφασιν ἡμᾶς κειμένους,**  
καὶ γὰρ οἱ πάντες ἀπέθανον εἰ καὶ μὴ τῇ πείρᾳ, ἀλλὰ  
τῇ ἀποφάσει, καὶ τὴν πληγὴν ἐκδεχομένους. ἐπειδὴ καὶ  
ὁ νόμος κατηγόρησε καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἀπεφάνητο, **ἐλθὼν ὁ  
Χριστὸς καὶ εἰς θάνατον ἐαυτὸν ἐκδοὺς, πάντας  
ἡμᾶς ἐξήρπασε τοῦ θανάτου· ὥστε “ὁ νῦν ζῶ ἐν  
σαρκί, ἐν πίστει ζῶ”** τουτέστι, **διὰ τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν  
πίστιν ζῶ.** ἐπεὶ, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο ἦν, οὐδὲν ἐκώλυε  
**πάντας ἀφανισθῆναι· ὁ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ  
κατακλυσμοῦ** γέγονεν· ἀλλ’ ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσία,  
στήσασα τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν ὀργήν, διὰ τῆς πίστεως ζῆν  
ἡμᾶς ἐποίησεν· ὅτι γὰρ τοῦτο φησὶν, ἄκουσον τῶν  
ἐξῆς· εἰπὼν γὰρ ὅτι “ὁ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκί, ἐν πίστει  
ζῶ,” ἐπήγαγε.

In fact, the comment in Galatians in Typus Vaticanus is an abridgement of several comments from Typus Parisinus. Also, during this investigation we found the answer to our question about Theodore’s commentary on this subject, namely the additional paragraph:

*«Ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι τοῦ τε θανάτου καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τύπον  
ἐπλήρουν, συσταυροῦσθαι ἐλέγοντο τῷ Χριστῷ· ὡς ἂν αὐτοῦ μὲν διὰ  
σταυροῦ τὸν θάνατον δεξαμένου καὶ ἀναστάντος, αὐτοὶ δὲ κατὰ τύπον τοῦ  
βαπτίσματος ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις γιγνόμενοι, ἐπ’ ἐλπίδι τοῦ καὶ πάντη πότε  
μετασχεῖν τῶν ὁμοίων, ὅταν τῆς κοινῆς πάντων ἀναστάσεως ἐν τῇ τοῦ*

αἰῶνος συντελεία τὸν καιρὸν παρεῖναι συμβαίνει· τοῦτο οὖν λέγει· “ὅτι  
συνεσταύρωμαι,” φησὶν, “τῷ Χριστῷ.” οὐδὲ μίαν πρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν  
ταύτην ζωὴν κοινωνίαν ἔχων, ἐν ᾗ κατὰ νόμον πολιτεύεσθαι ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκη.»

The most important finding of all, however, is the dependence of Typus Vaticanus on Typus Parisinus. If Vat. gr. 692 (GA 1993) is a descendant of the main representative of Typus Vaticanus, Vat. gr. 762 (GA 1915), as Staab says,<sup>171</sup> and if Galatians offers an analogy for the first three epistles, then we could generalize and say also that Typus Parisinus was among the sources for Typus Vaticanus. Concluding, I should say that there are more passages in the manuscript that derive from Typus Parisinus, e.g. in f. 79r «ταῦτα εἰ μὲν τις αὐτὰ καθ’ ἑαυτά... περιέπιπτεν· ἀλλ’ ὅπερ ἔφην», which may be compared with the text in Cramer, v. 6, p.23.

#### 5.4.4. Two «σχόλια» (scholia) in the catena on Galatians

Staab reports the presence of several scholia in Vaticanus gr. 692 (GA 1993).<sup>172</sup> More especially, one of them on 1 Cor. 15.42 is attributed to someone whose name starts with NIKO/, whom Staab suggests is an otherwise-unknown Nicolaus,<sup>173</sup> 6 anonyma on 1Cor and 2Cor, and four more scholia by Clement of Alexandria on 1Cor 8.1, 1Cor

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<sup>171</sup> Staab, 1926, p. 11 “Bei genauerer Untersuchung entpuppt sis sich indessen als Abkömmling von Vat. 762”; p. 13 “Und einige Stichproben ergeben sofort mit voller Gewissheit, dass Vat. 762 als Vorlage gedient hat”; “Die Abhängigkeit der fraglichen Handschrift ergibt sich aus dem Gesagten mit voller Evidenz. Es muss sogar unser Vat. 762 selbst die Vorlage für den Epitomisten gewesen sein.”

<sup>172</sup> Staab, 1926, pp. 15–16.

<sup>173</sup> See Staab, 1926, pp. 16–17.

15.42ff, 2Cor 2.14 and Gal. 2.19. Although Clement's scholia were unedited when Staab wrote in 1926, this happened later.<sup>174</sup> Since our focus is on Galatians, we are most interested in the scholion on Galatians 2.19, in f. 82r in Vaticanus gr. 692 (GA 1993), which originates in Clement's *Stromata*.<sup>175</sup> This scholion reads: «Ζῶ δέ φησιν οὐκέτι ἐγὼ ὡς ἔζων κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας· ζῆ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ ὁ Χριστὸς διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐντολῶν ὑπακοῆς, ἀγνῶς καὶ μακαρίως· ὥστε τότε μὲν ἔζων ἐν σαρκί, ἵνα εἴπω σαρκικῶς· ὁ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκί, ἐν πίστει ζῶ τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ.» It is one of two scholia that can be found in Galatians and the only one that is mentioned by Staab.

But Staab did not mention one more special characteristic of f. 84v, namely a genealogy which is in fact marked by the word *σχόλιον* before the beginning of the comment and *τέλος σχολίου* at the end.

«Μετὰ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ζήσας ὁ Ἀβραὰμ ἔτη κ̄ε γεννᾷ τὸν Ἰσαὰκ· ὡσαύτως  
**Ἰσαὰκ** ζήσας ἔτη ξ̄ γεννᾷ τὸν Ἰακώβ· Ἰακώβ δὲ ζήσας ἔτη πζ̄· γεννᾷ τὸν  
 Λευὶ· Λευὶ δὲ ζήσας ἔτη με̄· γεννᾷ τὸν Καὰθ· Καὰθ ζήσας ἔτη ζγ̄ γεννᾷ τὸν  
 Ἀμραμ· Ἀμραμ ζήσας ἔτη ο̄ γεννᾷ τὸν Μωσῆν· Μωσῆς ζήσας ἔτη π̄  
 δέχεται παρὰ θεοῦ τὸν νόμον· συνάγεται οὖν ὁ πᾶς χρόνος ἔτη υλ̄.»

This anonymous scholion can be found in two other manuscripts: Mediolanensis Ambrosianus gr. A. 62 inf. (GA 1980) on f. 192v and Escorialensis 410 (X. IV. 15) (GA 1974) on f. 74r, with the only external difference that the comment is not incorporated in

<sup>174</sup> Früchtel, L., Stählin, O. und Treu, U., *Clemens Alexandrinus*, v. 2 (3<sup>rd</sup> edn.) [*Die Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller 52*], Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1960.

<sup>175</sup> *Stromata*, 3.18.106.4



the text, as happens here, but rather exists as a marginal comment. Nevertheless, the presence of the scholion in Mediolanensis Ambrosianus gr. A. 62 inf. (GA 1980) reinforces the argument for the connection of this manuscript with the Pseudo-Oecumenian group II. This is not a pure coincidence, but it is difficult to specify the direction of the influence: although they both have the indication «σχόλιον» at their beginning, there are some textual differences, mainly palaeographical and orthographical:

- Ἄμραμ GA 1993] Ἀβραάμ δὲ GA 1980
- Μωσῆν GA 1993] Μωυσὴν GA 1980
- Μωσῆς GA 1993] Μωυσῆς GA 1980
- Μωσῆν GA 1993] Μωυσὴν GA 1980
- ἔτι π̄ GA 1993] ἔτη π̄ GA 1980
- Καὰθ ζήσας GA 1993] Καὰθ δὲ ζήσας GA 1980
- ἔτι υλ GA 1993] ἔτη τετρακόσια τριάκοντα GA 1980

Additionally, Mediolanensis Ambrosianus gr. A. 62 inf. (GA 1980) has an introduction to the σχόλιον, which can also be found in Escorialensis 410 (X. IV. 15) (GA 1974), but not in Vaticanus gr. 692 (GA 1993). The introduction reads as follows:

*«Δεῖ δὲ εἰδέναι ὅτι τῶν τετρακοσίων τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ὁ χρόνος, οὕτως ψηφίζεται».*

I was not able to identify this scholion in TLG. The closest text that I was able to find was from Nicephorus I (8<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries), *Chronographia brevis*.<sup>176</sup> Its wording is not identical (e.g. *γενόμενος* instead of *ζήσας*), but this is the only text that gives the same numbers, with the exception of :

- «*Καὰθ ζήσας ἔτη ζγ̄*» appears in Nicephorus as «*Καὰθ γενόμενος ἔτη ζ´*»
- «*Ἄμραμ ζήσας ἔτη ο̄*» appears in Nicephorus as «*Ἄμραμ γενόμενος ἔτη ογ̄*».

## 5.5. The marginal notes

There are two marginal notes in Galatians in codex Vaticanus gr. 692 (GA 1993). Both of them begin with the indication «ΣΗΜ», which may be expanded as either «σημειωτέον» or «σημειῶσαι». This word is used to draw the attention of the reader and means: «It is noteworthy» or «look at this note». Both notes are important not only for the tradition of Pauline Catena manuscripts but also for the transmission of the text and of the notes.

The first one can be found in f. 77v next to the block of the biblical text with Gal 1:3–5, with the indication «ΣΗΜ» and a sign like  $\nearrow$  next to it. The same sign can be found also in the biblical text above the word *ἐνεστῶτος* from the phrase *ἐνεστῶτος αἰῶνος πονηροῦ* and works as a sign of reference, connecting the explained word with the explanation.

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<sup>176</sup> de Boor, C., *Nicephori archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani opuscula historica*, Leipzig: Teubner, 1880, p. 85.

*Τὸ ρητὸν τοῦτον ἔχουσιν οἱ Μανιχαῖοι, εἰς μαρτυρίαν, ὡς ὅτι πονηρὸς ὁ αἰὼν, ὡς ὧν τοῦ πονηροῦ ποίημα*

This note can also be found in the witnesses to the Pseudo-Oecumenian group II, Mediolanensis Ambrosianus gr. A. 62 inf. (GA 1980) in f. 185r and Atheniensis gr. 100 (GA 075) in f. 127r. This once again underlines their connection. However, what is more important is that the note tries to make the reader aware of the teachings of Manichaeism. In the tenth century, Manichaeism was expressed in the Balkans through the heresy known as Bogomilism. Thus a note like this would help the reader to know his opponents and defend his belief with the support of the catena.<sup>177</sup>

The second marginal note stands in f. 89r next to the block of the biblical text with Gal 5:19–21. As in the previous comment it starts with the indication «ΣΗΜ» but with no additional sign of reference. The note reads:

*Κῶμος ἐστὶν μεθυστικός αὐλὸς καταθέλων τοὺς δαιτυμόνας τοῦς ἐν οἴνῳ ἐγχρονίζοντας*

This comment can be found word-for-word in the catena on Romans in Staab's so-called Typus Monacensis. The special characteristic of this type—apart from the fact that it is a catena on Romans only—is that almost every single comment is attributed to an author, with very few exceptions. Staab mentioned at least four of these exceptions, giving references in Cramer's edition, discussing in particular those occurring on 205.19, 292.20,

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<sup>177</sup> See for example Wachtel, K., "Katenen", in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, v. 5, Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1996, coll. 1326–7.

502.8, 521.24.<sup>178</sup> Cramer used for his edition the codex Monacensis gr. 412 (GA 1909) dated to the twelfth century.<sup>179</sup> There are two more manuscripts that belong to the same group: Monacensis gr. 110 (GA 2888) from the sixteenth century and Vaticanus Barberinus gr. 546, from the seventeenth century.

The comment under discussion in Typus Monacensis is an exegesis of *Romans* 13:13:

«ὥς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ εὐσχημόνως περιπατήσωμεν, μὴ κώμοις καὶ μέθαις, μὴ  
κοίταις καὶ ἀσέλγείαις, μὴ ἔριδι καὶ ζήλῳ»

It occurs next to comments by Chrysostom, Theodoret and Maximus, although this particular comment is attributed to Isidore.<sup>180</sup> Investigation in the TLG and further study of the text suggests that the source of the comment is Clement of Alexandria. Not only can it be found in his work *Paedagogus*,<sup>181</sup> but it is also connected there with Rom 13:13.

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<sup>178</sup> See Staab 1926, pp. 50–51. Cf. Cramer, v. 4, p. 205.19, 292.20, 502.8, 521.24.

<sup>179</sup> More about this manuscript see Cavallo, G., “Scritture informali, cambio grafico e pratiche librerie a Bisanzio tra i secoli XI e XII”, *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito : Atti del 5 Colloquio internazionale di paleografia greca, Cremona, 4–10 ottobre 1998*, Papyrologica Florentina 31, Firenze, Gonnelli, 2000, pp. 219–238; Mondrain, B., “La reconstitution d'une collection de manuscrits : les livres vendus par Antoine Eparque à la ville d'Augsbourg” , *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio. Atti del Seminario di Erice (18–25 settembre 1988)*, Biblioteca del “Centro per il collegamento degli studi medievali e umanistici nell'Università di Perugia” 5, Spoleto, Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1991, pp. 589–601; Mondrain, B., “Antoine Eparque et Augsbourg: le catalogue de vente des manuscrits grecs acquis par la ville d'empire”, *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata*, 47, 1993, p. 227–243.

<sup>180</sup> Cramer, vol. 4, p. 468.

<sup>181</sup> Harl, H.M., Marrou, I., Matray, C., and Mondésert, C., *Clément d'Alexandrie. Le pédagogue*, vol. 2 [Sources chrétiennes 108], Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1965, Chapter 4, subchapter 40.

The bold letters in Clement's text below are used to highlight the similarities with this comment.

*Πῶς χρὴ περὶ τὰς ἐστιάσεις ἀνίσθαι.*

*Ἀπέστω δὲ ἡμῖν τῆς λογικῆς εὐωχίας **ὁ κῶμος**, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ παννυχίδες αἱ μάταιοι ἐπὶ παροινία κομῶσαι· **ὁ μὲν γάρ ἐστι μεθυστικὸς [αὐλὸς]** ἄλλος, ἐρωτικῆς σχεδιαστῆς ἀδημονίας, **ὁ κῶμος**· ἔρως δὲ καὶ μέθη, τὰ ἀλόγιστα πάθη, μακρὰν ἀπώκισται τοῦ ἡμεδαποῦ χοροῦ· σύγκωμος δὲ παροινία τίς ἐστὶν ἢ παννυχὶς [δὲ] **ἐπὶ πότῳ**, μέθης ἐκκλητικὴ καὶ συνουσίας ἐρεθιστικὴ, τόλμα αἰσχροποιός. Οἱ δὲ ἐν αὐλοῖς καὶ ψαλτηρίοις καὶ χοροῖς καὶ ὀρχήμασιν καὶ κροτάλοις Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τοιαύταις ῥαθυμίαις σάλοι ἄτακτοι καὶ ἀπρεπεῖς καὶ ἀπαίδευτοι κομιδῇ γίγνονται ἂν κυμβάλοις καὶ τυμπάνοις ἐξηχούμενοι καὶ τοῖς τῆς ἀπάτης ὀργάνοις περιψοφούμενοι· ἀτεχνῶς γάρ, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, θέατρον μέθης τὸ τοιοῦτον γίνεται συμπόσιον. «Ἀποθεμένους γὰρ ἡμᾶς τὰ ἔργα τοῦ σκότους ἐνδύσασθαι τὰ ὄπλα τοῦ φωτός» ἀξιοῖ ὁ ἀπόστολος, «**ὡς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ εὐσχημόνως περιπατοῦντας, μὴ κῶμοις καὶ μέθαις, μὴ κοίταις καὶ ἀσελγείαις**» σχολάζοντας.*

Although the relationship might seem at first glance to be weak, if we compare it with two other places in the bibliography up to the tenth century this history of this text becomes clearer. It is often found in a shortened and paraphrased form, as in Suda's Lexicon<sup>182</sup>:

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<sup>182</sup> Adler, A., *Suidae lexicon*, 4 vols. [Lexicographi Graeci 1.1-1.4], Leipzig: Teubner, 1928–1935

*Κῶμός ἐστι μεθυστικός αὐλός, ἐγχρονίζοντος οἴνου ἐρεθίζων τὴν  
ἡδυπάθειαν καὶ θέατρον ἄσχημον ποιῶν τὸ συμπόσιον, κυμβάλοις τισὶ καὶ  
ὀργάνοις καταθέλων τοὺς δαιτυμόνας. καὶ αὖθις· ὃς εἰς ἔρωτας  
ἐσχόλαζε καὶ κόμους. ἐπὶ κῶμον ἔρχεται μεθύων ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἀγροίκως  
τῆς φωνῆς ἔχων. Φιλόστρατος.*

Not only are there still similarities with Clement's text in the wording: *θέατρον*, *κυμβάλοις*, *ὀργάνοις*, *ἔρωτας*, *εσχόλαζεν*, but Suda's lexicon introduces the key expression «*καταθέλων τοὺς δαιτυμόνας*» that leads to the comment in Typus Monacensis.

« *Κῶμος ἐστὶν μεθυστικός αὐλὸς καταθέλων τοὺς δαιτυμόνας τοῦς ἐν  
οἴνῳ ἐγχρονίζοντας* »

There are two reasons for the changes in the text of Clement. First, it has been shortened in order to be re-used either as a lexical entry or as a short comment in a catena manuscript. Second, especially for the catena the additional details of the original context have been omitted given the greater theological conservatism of later times. Similarly, it has also been updated for use in a different cultural context from third-century Alexandria: for example, the phrase «*κροτάλοις τῶν Αἰγυπτίων*» would have been unlikely to make much sense in Constantinople in the tenth century. It might have sounded exotic, but was of no use for a theological text.

This comment is also helpful to date the compilation of Typus Monacensis.<sup>183</sup> We are sure about the date of the compilation of Suda's Lexicon in the tenth century.<sup>184</sup> We

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<sup>183</sup> About Typus Monacensis, see Staab, 1926, pp. 37–52.

are also confident in assigning the earliest surviving manuscript of Typus Monacensis, Codex Monacensis gr. 412 (GA 1909), to the twelfth century. Typus Monacensis must therefore have been compiled at some point between the tenth and the twelfth centuries. While this agrees with Staab's conclusion, the difference between the two is that Staab uses as the *terminus a quo* the latest exegete in the catena, namely Photius, whereas I used an entry from Suda's lexicon. Given the lack of clarity regarding the attribution of these comments to Photius, with no evidence or other reference to his exegesis of the Pauline Epistles, the compilation of Suda's lexicon provides much more certain evidence for the dating of this compilation.

## 5.7. Conclusion

The result of the present analysis casts doubt on Staab's assertion that Vaticanus gr. 692 (GA 1993) is simply an abridgment of the main representative of Typus Vaticanus, Vaticanus gr. 762 (GA 1915). Conclusive proof can only be provided once the overlapping part of these manuscripts, namely 1Cor 6:19 – 16:24, has been examined, which is beyond the scope of this study. Instead, however, I believe that Vaticanus gr. 692 (GA 1993) is a compilation based on other catena manuscripts and compilations. It has been shown in this chapter that, in Galatians, its compilation relied on the Pseudo-Oecumenian type II of the Pseudo-Oecumenian tradition, the Typus Parisinus and also other compilations, such as Suda's Lexicon and Photius' Amphilochia. This means that it

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<sup>184</sup> Adler, A., *Suidae Lexicon*. 5 vols, Leipzig: Teubner, 1928-1938. (Reprinted in Stuttgart, 1967-71). See also: <http://www.stoa.org/sol/>

is potentially a rich source both for earlier catena traditions and other writings, if the origin of the different comments can be ascertained. The relationship to the Pseudo-Oecumenian group II is particularly important, meaning that it reaches behind Typus Parisinus and the later sources used to compile this catena. The other sources identified have also enabled us to be more specific about the time period for the compilation of this catena, placing it between the tenth and twelfth centuries.



## 6. On Staab's Pseudo-Oecumenian sekundärer erweiterungs-Typus: A complex Constantinopolitan compilation based on Pseudo-Oecumenian group IV

According to Staab there is a Ps.-Oecumenian extended catena form "sekundärer erweiterungs-Typus" that is represented by only three witnesses: Parisinus Coislinianus gr. 26 (GA 056), Monacensis gr. 375 (GA 0142) and Venetus Marcianus gr. Z. 35 (343) (GA 1925).<sup>185</sup> To our knowledge there are no other representatives of this type. In section 6.3.1 below it will be shown that indeed this compilation is based on the Pseudo-Oecumenian group IV.

### 6.1 The witnesses

#### 6.1.1. Coislin. gr. 26 (GA 056)

Coislinianus gr. 26 at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris contains the Acts, the Catholic Epistles and the Pauline Epistles in this order. It has received the Gregory-Aland number 056, because of the majuscule writing of the biblical text.<sup>186</sup> In Tischendorf's list it is identified with the numbers 16<sup>a</sup> and 19<sup>p</sup>,<sup>187</sup> whereas in von Soden's

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<sup>185</sup> Staab, *Die Pauluskatenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*, Rome 1926, p. 160.

<sup>186</sup> Aland, K., *Kurzgefasste Liste der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments. Zweite, Neuarbeitete und ergänzte Auflage*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 1994, p. 24.

<sup>187</sup> Aland, *Liste*, p. 378.

list can be found as O<sup>7</sup>, among other manuscripts with the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena. Coislinianus gr. 26 is a parchment manuscript in good condition palaeographically dated to the tenth century and its size is approximately 29.8 x 23.3 cm. It has 381 folia. The text is written in one column with forty lines per folio and according to Leroy's ruling system catalogue it is characterized as 44C1s.<sup>188</sup> Coislinianus gr. 26 was previously part of the collection of the manuscripts of the monastery of Great Lavra on Mount Athos in Greece and had probably been brought there by the monk Makarios in the year 1218.<sup>189</sup> As we read in f. 1r : «βιβλίον τῆς τετάρτης θέσεως Δ´», it must have had the number 4.4 in the library.

With regard to its external characteristics, this is a *Textkatena*, with a few biblical verses followed by a proportionally large commentary text. In front of the biblical verses there are diplai (δίπλαι), and the first complete line of the commentary is marked by ekthesis (ἐκθεσις), with the first couple of letters of this line projecting into the left margin. Each epistle is preceded by its ὑπόθεσις, but no other elements of the Euthalian apparatus<sup>190</sup> are present. A horizontal thick line separates each biblical book. After this thick line one can find the hypothesis, which should have been followed by a decorative band, but the band is not always there, nor in the right place.<sup>191</sup> The title of the book is

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<sup>188</sup> Sautel, J.-H., *Répertoire de réglures dans les manuscrits grecs sur parchemin*, Turnhout: Brepols, 1995, pp. 61 and 207.

<sup>189</sup> Duplacy, J., Manuscripts grecs du N.T. émigrés de la Grande Laure de l'Athos. In K. Treu (Ed.), *Studia Codicologica* (pp. 159–178). Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1977, p. 171.

<sup>190</sup> See Willard, L.C., *A Critical Study of the Euthalian Apparatus*, [Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Forschung 41] Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009.

<sup>191</sup> GA 056, f. 264r there was left no place for a band, not even for a title. In f. 246r the band was drawn so close to the text that was left no space for the title.

normally under this band. Additionally, for each epistle, the initial letter of the *hypothesis* and the initial letter of the commentary are capitalized, and the latter is decorated. Since I have only studied the manuscript from black and white images, I am unable to determine whether different inks are used for the biblical text and the commentary.

There are some comments in the margins written by the first hand. A much later hand has also occasionally annotated lectionary marks in the margins. But I believe that we should consider that the writing is a “bouletée” with signs of Perlschrift.<sup>192</sup> For this reason it could probably be classified as the individual style.<sup>193</sup>

#### 6.1.2. *Monac. gr. 375 (GA 0142)*

Monacensis gr. 375 at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich contains the Acts, the Catholic Epistles and the Pauline Epistles, in this order. It has received the Gregory-Aland number 0142, because of the majuscule writing of the biblical text.<sup>194</sup> In Tischendorf it is identified by the numbers 46<sup>a</sup> and 55<sup>p</sup>,<sup>195</sup> whereas in von Soden’s list it can be found as O<sup>6</sup>, among other manuscripts with the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena and

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<sup>192</sup> Folieri, E., ‘La minuscola libraria dei secoli IX e X’, in Glénisson M.J., Bompaigne J., Irigoin J., (eds), *La paléographie grecque et byzantine*, Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1977, pp. 139-165. See also, Irigoin, J., Une écriture du X<sup>e</sup> siècle: La minuscule Bouletée, in Glénisson M.J., Bompaigne J., Irigoin J., (eds), *La paléographie grecque et byzantine*, Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1977, pp. 191–199.

<sup>193</sup> See, Barbour, R., *Greek Literary Hands AD 400–1600*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981, pp. XVIII–XIX.

<sup>194</sup> Aland, *Liste*, p. 32.

<sup>195</sup> Aland, *Liste*, p. 379.

just before O<sup>7</sup> that is GA 056. Monacensis gr. 375 is a parchment manuscript in very good condition dated to the tenth century and its size is approximately 32 x 24.5 cm. It has 381 folia. The text is written in one column with forty lines per folio.<sup>196</sup> It also has the same external characteristics as Coislinianus gr. 26. It is a Textkatena with a preceding ὑποθεσις for each of the epistles and has exactly the same comments in the margins as Coislinianus gr. 26.

The identical number of pages, the same content, the repetition of the marginal notes, the diplai, the ekthesis and even the same pagination lead to the conclusion that they are palaeographically related to each other. Additionally, Monacensis gr. 375 is more decorated than the others. A horizontal thick line separates each book from the next. After this thick line one can find the hypothesis, which is followed by a decorative band. Under the decorative band is the title of the text. In the top margin of the first page of each epistle can be found the title of the epistle.

### 6.1.3. Marc. gr. Z. 35 (343) (GA 1925)

Marcianus Gr. Z. 35 (343) in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice is missing a large part at the beginning. It thus contains only a part of the Pauline Epistles (2 Cor–Heb). Although its biblical text has the same writing character as GA 056 and GA 0142, is considered among the minuscules and not among the majuscules, being allotted the

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<sup>196</sup> Hardt, I., *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bavaricae*. v. 4 [Cod.graec. 348-472], München 1810, pp. 108–119

Gregory-Aland number 1925.<sup>197</sup> In Tischendorf's list<sup>198</sup> it has the number 112<sup>p</sup>, whereas in von Soden's list it can be found as C<sup>π10</sup>.<sup>199</sup>

Marcianus Gr. Z. 35 (343) is a parchment manuscript in not such good condition, since the first part of the codex is missing. It is dated to the eleventh century in the library catalogue,<sup>200</sup> but we should probably consider dating it earlier, to the tenth century like GA 056 and GA 0142, since they were possibly all produced as part of the same project. Its size is approximately 37 x 29 cm, slightly larger than the other two. It has only 159 folia. The text is written in one column with forty lines per folio. It also has exactly the same external characteristics as Coislinianus gr. 26. It is a Textkatena with a preceding ὑποθεσις for each one of the epistles.

This manuscript is considered to have been part of Cardinal Bessarion's library, according to a note in Latin on the first folio: "*Expositio in epistolas s. Pauli, deficiunt ad Romanos, ad Corinthios prima et secunda, ad Thessalonicenses, liber b(essarionis) car. Tusculani. Fere eademverba graece in summo margine inscripta sunt.*" Staab mentions also that the manuscript must have been brought to Paris by Napoleon. Proof for this is the stamp "Bibliothèque Nationale" on the first and last folia of the codex.<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> Aland, *Liste*, p.156.

<sup>198</sup> Aland, *Liste*, p. 381.

<sup>199</sup> This designation is given in Aland, *Liste*, p. 402; however, it is given as E<sup>π10</sup> according to Soden, H.F. von, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments I.I*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911, p. 283.

<sup>200</sup> Mioni, E., *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum Codices graeci manuscripti, v. I Thesaurus antiquus. Codices 1-299*, Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1981, pp. 52–53. See also Mioni, E., *La catalogazione dei Manoscritti greci in Italia*, 1981, pp. 52-53.

<sup>201</sup> Staab 1926, p. 163.

## 6.2 Relationship between the manuscripts.

The only examination of the relationship of these manuscripts of which I am aware is that of Staab, who groups them and relates them to the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena.<sup>202</sup> In fact, all three manuscripts are related as exemplar and copy. Despite Staab's claim, I have already demonstrated in a study of 1 Corinthians that GA 0142 is a copy of GA 056.<sup>203</sup> These two witnesses share the same ruling system and have an identical number of pages: the contents of any page chosen at random corresponds to the equivalent folio of the other manuscript, sometimes with slight differences in the distribution of words on each line or even in some pages, but never at the content of each quire. The verse 1 Cor. 15:4 is missing from both manuscripts. The biblical text is written in a large block of majuscule script. Indirect speech is a particular feature of the commentary, and biblical verses are repeated within the exegesis in such a way that they are not clearly distinguished. The Byzantine character of the text is preserved in these repetitions (e.g. *πλείους ... καὶ κεκοίμηνται*), although it should be noted that both manuscripts read *ἔπειτα* for *εἶτα* in 1 Cor. 15:5. By examining more material, including one more manuscript and an exhaustive study of both the biblical text and the catena in Galatians, I will show that GA 1925 is also a product of this same tradition: as my findings in 1 Corinthians apply also in Galatians, it is more than probable that the same is true of the rest of the contents of these codices.

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<sup>202</sup> Staab 1926, p. 160.

<sup>203</sup> Panella, Th. 2016. "Resurrection appearances in the Pauline Catenae", in Houghton, H.A.G., (ed.) *Commentaries, Catenae and Biblical Tradition*. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2016, pp. 121–122.

### 6.2.1. External characteristics

In Coislinianus gr. 26 (GA 056) and Monacensis gr. 375 (GA 0142) Galatians starts on f. 227v, whereas in Marcianus Gr. Z. 35 (343) (GA 1925) the beginning of Galatians is found on f. 26v (another verso page).

On folia 232v of GA 056 and GA 0142, and on f. 31v of GA 1925, the quire number can be found at the bottom right corner. In all three witnesses this is “κθ’”, showing that they all follow the same pattern and indicating that at least 201 folia are missing from GA 1925. It therefore seems that it originally had exactly the same content as the other two manuscripts, as shown in the following table which works backwards from GA 1925.

quire	GA 056	GA 0142	GA 1925
κθ’	225r – 232v	225r – 232v	24r – 31v
κη’	217r – 224v	217r – 224v	16r – 23v
κζ’	209r – 216v	209r – 216v	8r – 15v
κε’	202r – 208v	202r – 208v	1r – 7v

Table 16: Quires in GA 056, 0142 and 1925.

If we check the biblical text on the lower part of the last folio of the quire κθ’ in each manuscript (the first quire of Galatians, each of them has Gal. 2:11-12, finishing exactly with the same word “ἐκ”). This could be an indication of a professional project to produce a set of identical manuscripts, with the same number of verses per page. Although the ruling system has only been identified by Sautel for GA 056, in fact all three share the same mise-en-page with a visible ruling system which, according to Leroy’s ruling catalogue, is 44C1s.

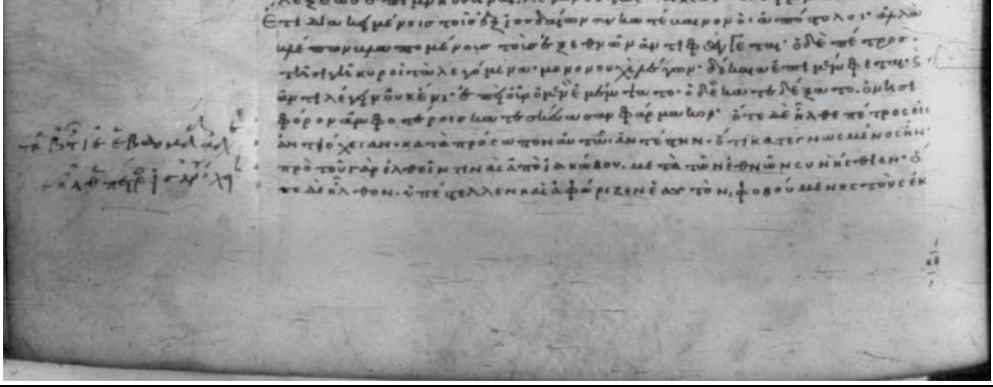
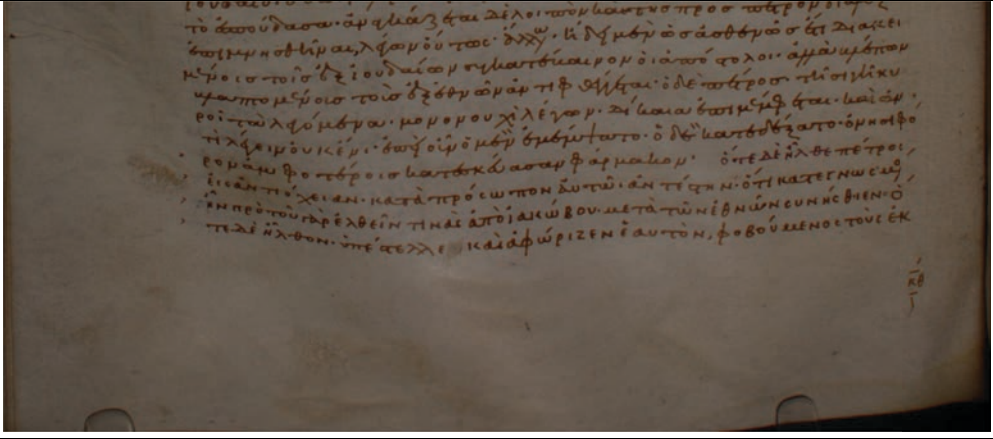
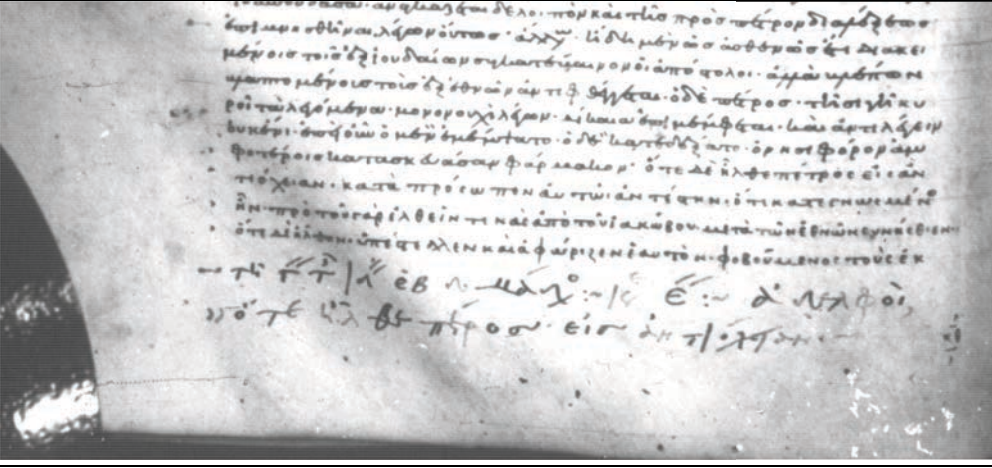
Ms.	Image
GA 056, f. 232v	
GA 0142, f. 232v	
GA1925, f. 31v	

Table 17: Quire κθ' in GA056, GA 0142 and GA 1925.

Without a comparison of their text, the fine decoration and completeness of production of GA 0142 in comparison with the others may lead to the erroneous conclusion that it was the first to be created.



### 6.2.2. Internal characteristics:

#### 6.2.2.1. Biblical text

All three manuscripts, GA 056 (A), GA 0142 (B) and GA 1925 (Γ), make or repeat the same mistakes in the biblical text, which confirm their shared source:

Galatians	ABΓ
1:9	ὥς προειρήκαμεν, καὶ ἄρτι πάλιν λέγω· εἴ τις ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελίζεται παρ' ὃ παρελάβετε, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω NA28] om. ABΓ
1:10	πειθὼ ἢ τὸν Θεόν; ἢ ζητῶ ἀνθρώποις NA 28] om. ABΓ
2:7	πεπίστευμαι A <sup>C</sup> B <sup>C</sup> NA28] πεπίστευται ABΓ
2:9	στῦλοι NA28] στύλοι ABΓ]
2:21b	οὐκ ἄθετῶ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ ante εἰ γάρ NA28] om. ABΓ
3:18	ἐξ ἐπαγγελίας τῷ δὲ Ἀβραάμ δι' ἐπαγγελίας NA28 ] om. ABΓ, ἐξ ἐπαγγελίας τῷ δὲ Ἀβραάμ ἐξ ἐπαγγελίας A <sup>c</sup>
3:19	διαταγεῖς NA28] διαταγῆς ABΓ
3:23	τοῦ δὲ ABΓ NA28] δὲ τοῦ Antoniadēs
4:2	οἰκονόμους A <sup>*p.c.</sup> BΓ NA28 ] οἰνόμους A <sup>a.c</sup>
4:17	ἐκκληῖσαι Γ <sup>p.c.</sup> NA28] ἐκκληῖσαι ABΓ <sup>a.c.</sup>
6:11	ὕμῖν NA28] ἡμῖν ABΓ

In addition, we may observe that 0142 (B) and 1925 (Γ) have common readings which differ from 056 (A). The nature of these variations, several of which are omissions, shows that B and Γ are subsequent to A in the textual tradition. These are as follows:

Galatians	A ] BΓ
1:4	θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς A] πατρὸς BΓ
1:8	εὐαγγελίζεται A] εὐαγγελίζεται BΓ
1:10	ἀνθρώποις A] ἀνθρώπους BΓ
1:12	παρὰ A] παρ' BΓ
1:16	προσανεθέμην A] προανεθέμην BΓ
2:20b	νῦν A] om. BΓ
3:13	ἐξηγόρασεν A] ἐξηγόρασας B <sup>a,c</sup> : ἐξηγόρασαι B <sup>p,c</sup> Γ
3:14	γένηται A] om. BΓ
3:16	ἐρρέθησαν A] ἐρρέθεισαν BΓ
6:4	ἐαυτὸν A] αὐτὸν BΓ

In addition 1925 (Γ) makes further mistakes, which are not found in 0142 (B), showing that it is the most recent of the three:

Galatians	AB ] Γ
1:14	προέκοπτον AB] ἐπρόκοπτον Γ
1:16	εὐαγγελίζωμαι AB ] εὐαγγελίζομαι Γ
1:18	Ἱεροσόλυμα AB] Ἱερωσόλυμα Γ
1:23	ἐπόρθει AB] ἐπόρθη Γ
3:8	ἐνευλογηθήσονται AB ] εὐλογηθήσονται Γ
4:6	ἐξαπέστειλεν AB ] ἐξαπέστειλε Γ
4:6	κράζον AB ] κράζον Γ

4:13	τῆς AB ] om. Γ
4:17	καλῶς AB] καλῶς Γ
4:17	ἐκκληῖσαι Γ <sup>p.c.</sup> ] ἐκκληῖσαι ABΓ <sup>a.c.</sup>
4:22	ἐν α A <sup>p.r.</sup> B <sup>p.r.</sup> Γ] ἐν ν α A <sup>a.r.</sup> B <sup>a.r.</sup>
4:24	αὐται AB] αὐται Γ
5:1	ἐλευθερία AB] ἐλευθέρα Γ
5:11	ἔτι AB] om. Γ
5:14	ἔτι AB] om. Γ
5:19	ἀσέλγεια AB] ἀσέλγειαι Γ
5:2	εἰδωλολατρία· φαρμακεία· ἔχθραι· ἔρις· ζῆλοι· θυμοί· ἐριθείαι· AB] om. Γ
6:1	καὶ AB] om. Γ
6:6	κοινωνεῖτω AB] κοινωνήτω Γ
6:13	περιτετμημένοι Γ] περιτετμημένοι AB

In conclusion, as GA 0142 not only repeats mistakes found in GA 056 but also omits words and phrases found in GA 056 and these omissions are repeated in GA 1925, which also repeats the errors and the omissions of GA 0142 and makes further errors and omissions, the conclusion must be drawn that GA 056 was created first, GA 0142 is a copy of GA 056, and GA 1925 is a copy of GA 0142. Consequently, this forms a linear stemma for the biblical text as follows (as we do not know whether GA 056 was the archetype, a possibly exemplar has been included as ‘x’):



#### **6.2.2.2. Type of the biblical text**

The demonstration above of the relationship of these manuscripts is also supported from the results of the studies of the text of the New Testament at the Institute für neutestamentliche Textforschung (INTF) in Münster. According to Kurt and Barbara Aland, and the results of a systematic test collation of the Corpus Pauline Epistles, GA 056 agrees in 189 test passages (*Teststellen*) with the Byzantine text, in 46 test passages with the Byzantine text where it has the same reading as the so-called original, in 5 test passages with the so-called original and in 8 test passages has an independent or

distinctive reading (*Sonderlesart*). They therefore categorize GA 056 as category V, that is manuscripts with a purely or predominantly Byzantine text.<sup>204</sup>

The same study shows similar results for the Pauline Epistles in GA 0142, which agrees in 192 test passages with the Byzantine text, in 44 test passages with the Byzantine text where it has the same reading as the so-called original, in 4 test passages with the so-called original and in 7 test passages has an independent or distinctive reading (*Sonderlesart*). Consequently, GA 0142 is also categorized as category V.<sup>205</sup>

Because GA 1925 has not been categorized as majuscule, it is not included in the analysis by the Alands. Nevertheless, it does appear in the later, more extensive, *Text und Textwert* analysis.<sup>206</sup> This comprises a full collation of all surviving Greek New Testament manuscripts, where available, in a certain number of *Teststellen* for each epistle. Seventeen *Teststellen* are used for Galatians. In GA 1925 fourteen out of seventeen *Teststellen* correspond to the Byzantine text type (LA 1), whereas the other three agree with the Byzantine text where it has the same reading as the so-called original (LA 1/2); one of the Byzantine readings is considered as idiosyncratic (*Singulärlesart*), namely ἐλευθερία in Galatians 5:1 (where 056 and 0142 have ἐλευθερία).<sup>207</sup> GA 0142 has exactly the same results as GA 1925, without the idiosyncratic reading. GA 056, in

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<sup>204</sup> Aland, K. and B., *Der Text des Neuen Testaments*, Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1989, pp.123–126.

<sup>205</sup> Aland, K. and B., *Der Text des Neuen Testaments*, Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1989, pp. 131.

<sup>206</sup> For the explanation of the abbreviated words in the table, see Aland, K., *Text und Textwert der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments. II. Die Paulinischen Briefe*, v. 1: *Allgemeines, Römerbrief und Ergänzungsliste*, Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1991, pp. 149–152.

<sup>207</sup> Aland, K., *Text und Textwert der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments. II. Die Paulinischen Briefe*, v. 3: *Galaterbrief bis Philipperbrief*, Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1991, p. 84, 162.

contrast, only has thirteen agreements with the Byzantine text, as at Galatians 1:8 it agrees with the earliest form of text (LA 2), against Byzantine tradition. Its other three readings are places where the Byzantine text has the same reading as the so-called original (LA 1/2). These figures are summarised in the following table<sup>208</sup> :

<b>GA 056</b>		
A. LA 2	: 1	(1)
B. LA 1/2	: 2, 10, 14	(3)
C. LA 1	: 3-9, 11-13, 15-17	(13)
<b>GA 0142</b>		
A. LA 2	: –	(0)
B. LA 1/2	: 2, 10, 14	(3)
C. LA 1	: 1, 3-9, 11-13, 15 –17	(14)
<b>GA 1925</b>		
A. LA 2	: –	(0)
B. LA 1/2	: 2, 10, 14	(3)
C. LA 1	: 1, 3-9, 11-13, 15, 17	(14)
1C	: 16	

Finally, Wachtel and Witte observe that GA 056 and 0142, among other majuscules from the ninth and tenth centuries, represent a text type developed between the

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<sup>208</sup> The table was compiled from the data in Aland, K., *Text und Textwert der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments. II. Die Paulinischen Briefe*, v. 3: *Galaterbrief bis Philipperbrief*, Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1991, p. 10–11, 84.

seventh and ninth centuries.<sup>209</sup> This was established in the ninth century with the use of μεταχαρακτηρισμός, the transcription of majuscule codices in minuscule script.

### 6.2.2.3. Commentary text

The study of the commentary text gives exactly the same results as those for the biblical text and indicates the same stemmatic relationship between these three manuscripts. What is more interesting is that the character of the mistakes made in the catena by GA 0142 and, later, by GA 1925 is the same as in the biblical text. So, for the commentary text we have a couple of characteristic examples of common mistakes that demonstrate further the relationship of the three manuscripts:

- |         |   |
|---------|---|
| 1.6-7   | ἀπάτης A <sup>c</sup> ] ἀγάπης A*BΓ <sup>210</sup>  |
| 2.6-10  | ἐπειδὴ NA28] ἐπιδὴ ABΓ  |
| 2.20-21 | εὐαγγελίξειν A] εὐ[.erasure.]ελίξειν BΓ εὐτελίξειν B <sup>c</sup> Γ <sup>c</sup> <sup>211</sup> |

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<sup>209</sup> Wachtel, K., – Witte, K., Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus, II. Die Paulinischen Briefe, 2. Gal, Eph, Phil, Kol, 1 u. 2 Thess, 1 u. 2 Tim, Tit, Phlm, Hebr, [Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung 22], Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1994, p. XXVII. See also, Wachtel, K., *Der byzantinische Text der Katholischen Briefe*, [Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung 24], Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995.

<sup>210</sup> In two cases (1.6-7 and 4.8-12) the manuscripts transmit a wrong reading, that either a corrector (in the first case) may have corrected or an editor could have introduced through taking into consideration also the sources for this work.

- 3.15-20      ἐπιδιατάσσεται A] ἐπιτάσσεται BΓ    ἐπιδιατάσσεται Γ<sup>p,c</sup>
- 4.8-12      παρατηρεῖσθαι NA28 ] παρατηρεῖσθε ABΓ

GA 0142 and GA 1925 omit words which are present in GA 056:

- 1.3-5      ὃ A] om. BΓ
- 1.3-5      ἦν A] om. BΓ
- 2.3-5      οὐ περιέτεμον A] om. BΓ
- 2.14-16    πολιτείαν A] om. BΓ
- 2.20-21    ἀθετεῖ A] om. BΓ

They also have common orthographical mistakes against GA 056:

- 1.1-2      δεδωκότων A] δεδοκότων BΓ
- 1.3-5      δυνηθεῖσαν A] δυνηθῆσαν BΓ
- 2.6-10    ἀφώριζεν A] ἀφόριζεν BΓ
- 2.6-10    ἀπωλείας A] ἀπολείας BΓ
- 6.1-2      ἄλλος A] ἄλλως BΓ

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<sup>211</sup> For the word εὐτελίζειν in the critical edition. Initially all three manuscripts must have had the word εὐαγγελίζειν, but in two of them has been corrected to εὐτελίζειν according to the source. See, the Pseudo-Oecumenian normal type, comment 91.



Most importantly, the misunderstanding of some words in GA 056 causes the transmission of a totally different meaning in some of the following cases:

1.6-7	ἀπαντῶντας A] ἀπατῶντας BΓ
2.6-10	ἐβδομήκοντα A] Ο΄ BΓ
3.1-2	βούλεσθε A] βουλόμεθα BΓ
3.13-14	φυλακῆς A] φύσεως BΓ
3.15-20	διακονηθεῖς καὶ ἐπιταγεῖς A] διαταγεῖς BΓ
4.19-20	διελέγχθαι A] διελέγχει BΓ
5.2-5	ἀνοίγνυσι A <sup>212</sup> ] ἀνοίγειν ΓB <sup>a.c.</sup> , ἀνοίγει B <sup>p.c.</sup> .
5.13-15	φθοροποιὸν A] φθοροποιῶν BΓ
6.1-2	παραινέσεως A] φανερώσεως BΓ

Finally, GA 1925 makes further mistakes, mainly orthographical, or corrections (e.g. Ἀράβων) and omissions:

1.1-2	ἔσωσεν AB] ἔσωθεν Γ
1.3-5	ὕμᾱς AB] om. Γ
1.6-7	τιμᾶν AB] τιμῶν Γ
1.8,10	προσίετε AB] προσίεται Γ
1.11-14	ἦμην AB] ἡμιν Γ

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<sup>212</sup> This has been chosen for the text of the edition, because it can also be found in the source of this passage, in *Typus Parisinus*, for that see Cramer, v. 6, p. 76, 8.

1.11-14	ἀπολογήσασθαι AB] ἀπολογίσασθαι Γ
1.15-16	ἀλλ' ἐν ἐμοὶ AB] om. Γ
2.14-16	εἰάσαμεν AB] εἴασεν Γ
3.28-29	οἱ κοινωνοῦντες AB] οἰκονομοῦντες Γ
4.22-27	Ἀρράβων AB] Ἀράβων Γ
5.6-10	ἀνεῖλεν· ὥς μὴδ' ἐτέραν δύνασθαι βλάπτειν ἢ ὠφελεῖν. ἀλλὰ πίστις AB] om. Γ

As detailed with the palaeographical and text critical observations above, the linear stemmatological relationship of the manuscripts has been established. GA 056 is on the top of the stemma, GA 0142 uses it as an exemplar and copies from it, while GA 1925 copies from GA 0142. It is hard to see what other conclusion could be drawn from the textual data provided here.

### 6.3 Sources and character of this catena type

The information that Staab provides about the character of this Pauline catena type, 'Ein sekundärer Erweiterungs-Typus', is based entirely on examples taken from Romans, with a single exception from 1 Corinthians 1:18-19 in a table for the comparison of the use of the sources (and two more from 1 Corinthians 1:1, 15).<sup>213</sup> According to Staab, the compiler uses «καὶ ἄλλως» or «ἢ οὕτως» to introduce a second or even a third

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<sup>213</sup> Staab, 1926, pp. 163–167.

explanation for the same topic. Staab compares this type with Parisinus gr. 219 (GA 91),<sup>214</sup> observing a couple of pages later that this type must derive from a similar manuscript to GA 91 but without the Scholia Photiana.<sup>215</sup> Apart from the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena, Staab also counts Chrysostom and Theodoret among its sources, suggesting that the compiler was trying to follow more closely the structure of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena. According to Staab, the compiler was trying to create a continuous catena, transforming a Randkatena into a Textkatena in such a way as to remove the sense of fragmentation between the extracts. However, although a good balance is maintained in the use of sources, the compiler (who remains anonymous) is not so competent in bringing them together with regard to their language and style. As for the compilation itself, there are no other copies to our knowledge, and no further use or influence of this catena has yet been identified.

### 6.3.1. Sources for the catena on Galatians

As observed in the previous section, Staab identifies the sources for this catena as the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena, supplemented by direct reference to Chrysostom and Theodoret. The following investigation shows that, while the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena is indeed the principal source, the material from Chrysostom (and several other writers) was, in fact, introduced from another type of catena, *Typus Parisinus*. The compiler also used Theodoret, and possibly a further, still unidentified, source.

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<sup>214</sup> Staab, 1926, p. 164.

<sup>215</sup> Staab, 1926, pp. 164, 166.

#### 6.3.1.1. Relationship to Pseudo-Oecumenian catena Group IV

Staab affirms that this catena was based in the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena, calling it an extended form (*‘ein erweiterter Typus’*). As may be proved from the use of the scholia that belong to the *Corpus Extravagantium* (10a, 47a, 70a, 70b, 81a, 85a, 94a, 96a, 144a, 158a, 160a, 165a, 172a, 199a, 202a, 204a, 234a and 236a) and only one comment 33a (on Gal. 1:16) of the *Scholia Photiana*, we can say that more especially this compilation is based in Type IV of the Pseudo-Oecumenian tradition.

<b>comm. 33a</b> <b>‘Photius’</b>	<b>catena</b>
<p>ἢ οὕτως. οὐκ ἀπέκλινα εἰς ἄνεσιν καὶ ἡδυπάθειαν· οὐδ’ ὥς μέγα τι κατωρθωκώς. εἰς ῥαστώνην καὶ ὀλιγορίαν ἀνέπεσα· ἀλλὰ σύντονον τὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου δρόμον ἐποιούμην· ἢ οὕτως. οὐ προετιμησάμην ἰδεῖν συγγενεῖς· ἢ οἰκίαν· ἢ συνήθεις. ἢ πατρίδα· ἀλλὰ πάντα λιπών. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν τούτοις τῶν περὶ Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην ἐλαττοῦμαι. εὐθέως εἰς Ἀραβίαν καὶ εἰς Δαμασκὸν καὶ εἰς τὸ κήρυγμα ἔτρεχον·</p>	<p>ἢ οὕτως · οὐκ ἀπέκλινα πρὸς ῥαστώνην · οὐ δὲ ὥς τι μέγα κατωρθωκώς εἰς ἄνεσιν ἔπεσον . ἢ ὅτι οὐ προετιμησάμην ἰδεῖν συγγενεῖς ἢ οἰκίαν . οὐκ εἰς ἱεροσόλυμα ἦλθον</p>

Table 18: The comment 33a

In total, 190 comments from Group IV were used for the compilation of this catena form, making up almost two thirds of the comments in group IV. However, as this source was not reproduced in its entirety, Staab’s description of it as an extended type (*‘ein sekundärer Erweiterungs-Typus’*) is incorrect: whereas group II uses the whole of group I and adds additional material (and the same is true of both groups III and IV), in

this case only a selection has been used. The relationship of the main groups has been indicated in section 2.7 as follows:

	Kind of compilation			
<b>Group I</b>	Basic form			
<b>Group II</b>	Group I	+ corpus extravagantium 1		
<b>Group III</b>	Group II		+ corpus extravagantium 2 (with subgroups)	
<b>Group IV</b>	Group III			+ Scholia Photiana

Table 9: Groups of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena manuscripts according to the stage of their formation (repeated from section 2.7)

Based on the above considerations, it does not seem correct to identify the catena which forms the subject of this chapter as another type of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena, as it is not based on the complete comments of any of the Pseudo-Oecumenian groups I, II, III or even IV. Instead, its selective character, using only some of the extracts, is comparable with the practice of the *Typus Vaticanus* (Vat. Gr. 692, GA 1993), which is not identified by Staab as an extended Pseudo-Oecumenian type.

#### 6.3.1.2. *Chrysostom*

As noted above, Staab identifies Chrysostom's *ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὴν πρὸς Γαλάτας ἐπιστολὴν*<sup>216</sup> (Commentary on Galatians) as one of the sources for this type. There is some

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<sup>216</sup> Migne, J.-P., *Patrologiae cursus completus (series Graeca)* (PG) 61, Paris: Migne, 1857-1866, coll. 611-682.

truth in this. In terms of quantity, the same amount of text from Chrysostom's commentary is provided in this type as is supplied from the Pseudo-Oecumenian group IV: the proportions are equal. However, it is intriguing that there are differences in wording between this compilation and the text of Chrysostom. Although these could have been introduced by the compiler, an examination of the *Typus Parisinus* catena type, which also cites Chrysostom extensively, shows the same wording as this catena. This is clear in the entire compilation, in both short and long extracts of Chrysostom. For example, *Typus Parisinus* shortens some extracts, as in the case of the first abundant part of the explanation «πολλοὶ τῶν ἀπλῶς — ἐπιτιμήσει διορθωθῶσιν» for Gal. 2:11-13<sup>217</sup>. The compilation that we find in these three manuscripts (GA 056, GA 0142 and GA 1925) repeats the text found in the earlier *Typus Parisinus* catena.

Another way to illustrate the dependence of this compilation on *Typus Parisinus* regarding the Chrysostomian text is the change of some Chrysostomian words in *Typus Parisinus* also present in these three manuscripts. For example in the above mentioned passage (Gal. 2:11-13), Chrysostom's words “ῥητὸν, τοιαύτην, αὐτοὶ, οὐδὲν” became “χωρίον, τοσαύτην, οὗτοι, ἀδιάφορος” respectively. In other cases it becomes easy when studying and analyzing the text to understand that any alterations of wording, grammar or syntax are on the basis of *Typus Parisinus* and not on the basis of the Chrysostomian commentary itself. I give here the example for Chrysostom's word ῥητὸν that becomes χωρίον in *Typus Parisinus* and it is repeated in this catena:

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<sup>217</sup> See in our edition of this catena type, for *Typus Parisinus* see Cramer, v.6, pp. 33.29-35.19, whereas for Chrysostom see PG 61.640.2-641.55.

Chrysostom (PG 61.640.2–6)	Typ. Par. 39.25	catena
<p><b>Πολλοὶ τῶν ἀπλῶς ἀναγινωσκόντων</b> τουτὶ τὸ ῥητὸν τῆς Ἐπιστολῆς, νομίζουσι τοῦ Πέτρου τὸν Παῦλον κατηγορεῖν ὑπόκρισιν· ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔστιν, ἅπαγε· πολλὴν γὰρ εὐρήσομεν καὶ τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Παύλου τὴν σύνεσιν ἐγκεκρυμμένην ἐνταῦθα πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀκουόντων ὠφέλειαν.</p>	<p><b>Πολλοὶ τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων ἀπλῶς</b> τουτὶ τὸ χωρίον τῆς Ἐπιστολῆς, νομίζουσι τοῦ Πέτρου τὸν Παῦλον κατηγορεῖν ὑπόκρισιν· ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔστιν· ἅπαγε· πολλὴν γὰρ εὐρήσομεν καὶ τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Παύλου τὴν σύνεσιν ἐγκεκρυμμένην ἐνταῦθα, πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀκουόντων ὠφέλειαν.</p>	<p>Πολλοὶ τῶν ἀπλῶς τὸ χωρίον ἐπιόντων· νομίζουσι τοῦ Πέτρου τὸν Παῦλον κατηγορεῖν ὑπὸ κρίσιν· ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο· πολλὴν γὰρ εὐρήσομεν ἀμφοτέροις ἐνταῦθα κεκρυμμένην σύνεσιν· πρὸς ὠφέλειαν τῶν ἀκουόντων·</p>

Table 19: Comparison between Chrysostom, Typus Parisinus and the complex Constantinopolitan catena

### 6.3.1.3. Typus Parisinus

In addition to the introduction of Chrysostomian comments from *Typus Parisinus*, the earlier catena has been used so extensively as a source that further material from it has been introduced into the later compilation. This includes comments by Theodore of Mopsuestia, for example in Gal. 3:28-29:

τῆς παρούσης ζωῆς ἀρχὴ τοῖς πᾶσιν, ὁ Ἀδάμ· εἷς δὲ ἄνθρωπος πάντες ἐσμέν· τῷ λόγῳ τῆς φύσεως· οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς μελλούσης ζωῆς· ἀρχὴ μὲν ὁ Χριστὸς· πάντες δὲ οἱ κοινωνοῦντες τῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ τῆς ἀθανασίας. ὥσπερ «εἷς» γινόμεθα πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ὁμοιότητα τοῦ πράγματος· τότε τοίνυν «οὔτε ἄρσεν οὔτε θήλυ» θεωρεῖται· «οὔτε Ἰουδαῖος ἢ Ἕλλην»· οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἀθανάτῳ φύσει διακριθήσεται

περιτετμημένος ἢ ἀκρόβυστος, πάσης ἀνωμαλίας πραγμάτων ἀνηρημένης. (cf. *Typ. Par.* 59.22-60.1, Staab 1933, p. 78)

Severian of Gabala, for example in Gal. 1:16 :

ὅτι οὐκ ἐστοίχησα θνητῇ σαρκὶ (cf. *Typ. Par.* 23.13-14, Staab 1933, p. 300).

and Eusebius of Emesa, for example in Gal. 1:6 :

Διὰ πάντων ἠϋΐησε τὴν ἄτοπίαν τῆς μεταβολῆς. τὸ οὕτως εἰπὼν. πολλὴν ἔχων ἔνδειξιν· καὶ τὸ «ταχέως» ἐπισυνάψας· καὶ «μετατίθεσθε» εἰπὼν, οὐ μετάγεσθε· ὡς ἐπὶ ἀψύχων φησὶν «μετατίθεσθε πρὸς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον»· ὁ παντελής ἐστὶν ἐνσεβείας μετάθεσις (cf. *Typ. Par.* 16.4-9, Swete 9)

All three examples above originate from *Typus Parisinus*.<sup>218</sup>

#### 6.3.1.4. Theodoret of Cyrrus

Ninety-two extracts in this compilation are taken from Theodoret's work «Ἑρμηνεία τῆς πρὸς Γαλάτας ἐπιστολῆς» (*PG* 82.460-505) which is part of a major work with the interpretation of all the fourteen Pauline epistles.<sup>219</sup> This number makes it the third most used source for this compilation, and although Theodoret's commentary is not so long as

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<sup>218</sup> Cramer, v. 6, pp. 4-95. Comments by different authors found in catenae were all gathered in Staab, K, *Pauluskommentare aus der Griechischen Kirche: Aus Katenen Handschriften gesammelt und herausgegeben*, Münster, 1933.

<sup>219</sup> Migne, J.-P., *Patrologiae cursus completus (series Graeca)* (*PG*) 82, Paris: Migne, 1857-1866, coll. 36-877.



Chrysostom's the percentage of its use in this type of catena is very high. This could be because its well-defined structure makes it easy to incorporate in a catena: each biblical verse is followed by Theodoret's hermeneia, which is usually short and with no overlaps between the verses. This is very useful for the compiler, who incorporates them as they are. The brevity of these extracts means that they are rarely abbreviated further or paraphrased by the compiler.

Theodoret	Catena (Gal. 1:6–7)
<p>Εἴτα θερμανθεὶς ἐκ τῆς μνήμης τῶν ἐναντίων, καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ ζέσας θυμῷ, ἀλλότριον τῆς εὐσεβείας καλεῖ τὸν ἕτερα <u>κηρύττειν πειρώμενον</u>, καὶ βοᾷ·</p>	<p>εἴτα διαθερμανθεὶς ἐκ τῆς μνήμης τῶν ἐναντίων· καὶ δικαίῳ ζέσας θυμῷ, ἀλλότριον τῆς εὐσεβείας καλεῖ· τὸν ἕτερα <u>κηρύττοντα</u> καὶ βοᾷ.</p>

Table 20: Comparison (1) between Theodore and the Constantinopolitan catena.

The following is an example of the rare occasions that they are abbreviated:

Theodoret (PG 82.472.22-300)	Catena (Gal. 2:6–10)
<p>Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἄλλων, φησὶ, τῶν κακῶς κεχρημένων τῷ νόμῳ ἐκεῖνα εἶπον, δυσχεραίνων δὲ, ὡς τῶν οἰκείων <b>μαθητῶν βλαπτομένων ἐντεῦθεν</b>· τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ καὶ εἶρηκε, <i>Τί τὰ ἔθνη ἀναγκάζεις Ἰουδαίῃς</i>; Σὸν ἐστὶ δόγμα, μὴ κατὰ νόμον πολιτεύεσθαι τούτους·</p> <p><b>ἀντιφθέγγεται</b> δὲ τοῖς ἤδη γραφείσι τὰ πράγματα. <b>Ὁ δὲ μέγας Πέτρος τῇ σιγῇ</b> <b>κυροῖ τὰ λεγόμενα, μονονουχὶ λέγων</b></p>	<p><u>βλαπτομένους τοὺς ἐξ ἐθνῶν</u></p> <p>ἀντιφθέγγεται· ὁ δὲ Πέτρος· τῇ σιγῇ κυροῖ τὰ λεγόμενα· μόνον ουχὶ λέγων·</p>

<p>πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ Ἰουδαίων πεπιστευκότας  τοὺς τηνικαῦτα παρόντας, ὅτι <b>Δίκαια</b>  <b>ἐπιμέμφεται, καὶ ἀντιλέγειν</b> τοῖς  λεγομένοις <b>οὐκ ἔνεστιν</b>. Ὅτι γὰρ ἔστερξε  τὰ λεγόμενα, τῆς τῶν ἀκουόντων  προμηθούμενος ὠφελείας, παντί που  δῆλον· <b>ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ὁ μὲν ἐπεμέμψατο,</b>  <b>ὁ δὲ σιγῇ κατεδέξατο, καὶ τοῖς ἐξ</b>  <b>Ἰουδαίων, καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἐθνῶν,</b>  <b>ὀνησιφόρον κατεσκευάσθη φάρμακον.</b></p>	<p>δίκαια ἐπιμέμφεται· καὶ ἀντιλέγειν οὐκ <u>ἔνι</u>·    ἐπεὶ οὖν ὁ μὲν <u>ἐμέμψατο</u>· ὁ δὲ κατεδέξατο·  Ἰονησιφόρον ἀμφοτέροις <u>κατασκεύασαν</u>  φάρμακον</p>
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Table 21: Comparison (2) between Theodoret and the Constantinopolitan catena.

In identifying the sources for the extracts of this catena, we observed an error in Staab's edition. This catena features the following comment from Theodoret on Gal. 4:12:

τὸ γὰρ τῆς ὀδύνης πάθος· συνεχῶς αὐτὸν ἀναγκάζει μεταβάλλειν τοῦ λόγου τὸ εἶδος· καὶ νὺν μὲν ἐπιτιμᾷ· νὺν δὲ παρακαλεῖν· ἄλλο τε κατηγορεῖν· ἐνταῦθα δὲ διδάσκει ὡς ἃ γράφει· διὰ φιλοστοργίαν γράφει· οὐδὲν γὰρ φησιν παρ' ὑμῶν ἡδίκημαι· ἀλλὰ θεραπείας μᾶλλον ὅτι πλείστης ἡζύωμαι.<sup>220</sup>

However, in *Die Pauluskommentare* Staab presents this comment attributed to Severian of Gabbala<sup>221</sup> This identification was made on the basis of two manuscripts: Athoniensis Pantokratoros 28 (GA 1900), an idiosyncratic catena rich in extracts of the Church Fathers and valuable since it most of them are attributed to a writer, and Coislin. Gr. 204 (GA

<sup>220</sup> cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.488.36-42

<sup>221</sup> Staab 1933, 302.

1910), which is *Typus Parisinus*. In *Typus Parisinus* only the following text is found under the name of Severian:

*Μὴ γὰρ ἄλλην τινὰ ἔσχον λύπην πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπιπλήττω*

In contrast, Pantokratoros 28, f. 135v starts with this:

*Μὴ νομίσητε, φησὶν, ὅτι ἄλλην τινὰ λύπην εἶχον πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπιπλήττω*

and continues with no interruption:

*τῆς γὰρ ὁδύνης τὸ πάθος συνεχῶς αὐτὸν μεταβάλλειν ἀναγκάζει τοῦ λόγου τὸ εἶδος· καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐπιτιμᾶν. νῦν δὲ παρακαλεῖν. καὶ ποτὲ μὲν κατηγορεῖν· πότε δὲ θρηνεῖν ἐνταῦθα δὲ διδάσκει ὡς ἅπερ γράφει· οὐδὲν γὰρ φησιν παρ' ὑμῶν ἡδίκημαι. ἀλλὰ θεραπείας μάλιστα πλείστης ἡζίωμαι.*

However, it is wrong to attribute the whole text to Severian, because it is clear that the following text is from Theodoret: it appears as such in full in the separate textual tradition of his commentary. The only text that should be attributed to Severian is the common text that is found in GA 1900 and 1910.

#### **6.3.1.5. Unidentified additional material in the catena**

Around fifty texts belong to this category. Most of them are as little as three to four words. Many of them could be considered as connecting phrases used by the compiler to

connect two extracts from different sources. Nevertheless, it is impossible to be sure whether some, at least, could actually be extracts from an unknown or lost work.

We observe also that there is at least one unidentified phrase in almost every block of the commentary text. This regular recurrence is something that reinforces the argument that the unidentified texts could come from a certain source. Here are some of the more extensive examples:

Gal. 4:15–16	ὃν ἐγὼ τε καὶ ἄλλοι ὑμᾶς ἐμακάριζον ἐν τῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ὑποταγῇ· καὶ ἔδει μὲν ἐπαγαγεῖν·
Gal. 4:19–20	καλὴ καὶ ἡ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τῶν λόγων ἀποστροφή· τὸ «ἀποροῦμαι ἐν ὑμῖν»· οἷον οὐκ ἔχω τί εἶπω· φαίνεται γὰρ διὰ πάντων ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν γεγονότων συνεχόμενος λύπης
Gal. 4:21	«τὸν νόμον οὐκ ἀκούετε;» οἷον τί λέγει περὶ ἑαυτοῦ
Gal. 4:22–27	οὐκοῦν ἐλεύθεροι καὶ οἱ ἐξ αὐτῆς· γυναικῶν δὲ ὀνόματα θείς· ἐνέμεινε τῇ τροπῇ·
Gal. 4:28–5:1	καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἔχει χώραν τὰ νόμιμα ἐπὶ τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς· ταῦτα εἰπὼν, συλλογίζεται· «ἄρα ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐσμὲν παιδίσκης τέκνα»
Gal. 5:2–5	ἐπαρᾶται γὰρ τοῖς μὴ πάντα πληροῦσιν· οὐ μόνον οὖν ὑμῖν φησὶ ἀλλὰ καὶ παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦτο διαμαρτύρομαι·
Gal. 5:11–12	καλὸν ἔλκεσθαι εἰς δόγμα
Gal. 5:13–15	τῇ ἀγάπῃ οὖν αὐτοὺς ἀσφαλίζεται· τῇ παρ’ ἀμφοτέρων ἐπαινούμενη·
Gal. 5:16–17	οὕτως γὰρ φησὶ ἐπιθυμεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου πρὸς σὲ ὁ θεός·
Gal. 6:9–10	ἵνα μὴ νομίσῃ τίς αὐτὸν τῶν διδασκάλων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀμελεῖν, εἰς κοινὸν ἐξάγει τὸν λόγον·

Gal. 6:11–13	αὐχεῖν ἐθέλοντες ὡς μεταθέντες ὑμᾶς·
Gal. 6:17	Τοῦτο οὐχ ὡς καμῶν ἢ περικακίσας λέγει· ἀλλὰ βουλόμενος τοὺς τεθέντας παρ’ αὐτοῦ νόμους ἀκινήτους εἶναι· ὡς οὐκ ἔτι μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ τί προσθεῖναι ἢ ἀφελεῖν·

### 6.3.2 Use of the sources

The compiler tries to keep an equal balance in deploying his three principal sources. Material from each is used alternately. Only in a few cases is a single source used more extensively for consecutive comments. This occurs most often with the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena, as in the provision of comments 53–58<sup>222</sup> and 171–178<sup>223</sup> in a block. In fact, this is largely in proportion to the use of *Typus Parisinus*, because the material incorporated from that source is normally much longer. The longest text introduced from *Typus Parisinus* is an extract from Chrysostom «πολλοὶ τῶν ἀπλῶς — ἐπιτιμήσει διορθωθῶσιν» which covers almost two modern printed pages.<sup>224</sup>

The study of the use of sources reveals some patterns, which typify the compiler’s practice in producing this work.

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<sup>222</sup> See in the edition of this type Gal. 2:3–5 lines 4–21.

<sup>223</sup> See in the edition of this type Gal. 4:22–27, lines 12–25.

<sup>224</sup> See Cramer, v. 6, pp. 33–35.

### 6.3.2.1. Mixing *Typus Parisinus* and the *Pseudo-Oecumenian catena*

The compiler often inserts one or two Pseudo-Oecumenian comments from Group IV into an extract taken from *Typus Parisinus*. In the example below the enclosed Pseudo-Oecumenian comment 84 replaces the following text from *Typus Parisinus*: ἂν τοίνυν φιλονεικήσωμεν στήσαι αὐτὸ τοῦτο, παραβάται γινόμεθα. The choice of the Pseudo-Oecumenian comment appears to have been due to its similarity to the meaning of the omitted phrase. The personal contribution of the compiler here is the addition of two words: a) οἷον (ἐστὶν) to introduce the interpretation and b) ἥ to connect the phrase τὰ καταλυθέντα ὑφ' ἡμῶν with τὰ παρὰ θεοῦ λυθέντα and subsequently the two different comments.<sup>225</sup>

Catena	sources	Text of the sources
«εἰ γὰρ ἃ κατέλυσα»	Gal. 2:18	
οἷον ἀφέντες τὸν νόμον· κατεφύγομεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκ πίστεως σωτηρίαν. <b>καταλύσαντες αὐτὸν. τὸ ἐάσαι αὐτὸν καὶ Χριστῷ προσδραμεῖν· ἂν οὖν πάλιν ἐπιχειρῶμεν ἰστᾶν αὐτὸν παραβάται ἐσμέν· ὅτι τὰ</b>	οἷον ἀφέντες — τηρεῖν] cf. <i>Typ. Par.</i> 40.7-13 (Chrys. <i>PG</i> 61.645.1-4, Damasc. <i>PG</i> 95.789.37- 40)	πέπνυται ὁ νόμος, καὶ τοῦτο ὡμολογήσαμεν, δι' ὧν ἀφέντες αὐτὸν κατεφύγομεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς πίστεως σωτηρίαν. ἂν τοίνυν φιλονεικήσωμεν στήσαι αὐτὸ τοῦτο, παραβάται γινόμεθα, τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ

<sup>225</sup> Some more examples: πειρασμοὺς — δεδέσθαι ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 65.20 (Chrys. *PG* 61.659.37) encloses comm. 157, κατήργηται ἄρα — τῶν Ἰουδαίων ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 78.13-25 (Chrys. *PG* 61.668.20) encloses comm. 203, πολλοὶ τῶν ἀπλῶς — ἐπιτιμήσει διορθωθῶσιν] *Typ. Par.* 33.29-35.19, Chrys. *PG* 61.640.2-641.55 encloses comm. 73, ἐστὶ ζῆλος — ἀπόντος ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 66.11-26 (Chrys. *PG* 61.660.4-26) encloses comm. 161.

καταλυθέντα ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐπιχειροῦμεν ἰστᾶν· ἢ τὰ παρὰ θεοῦ λυθέντα φιλονεικοῦντες τηρεῖν·	καταλύσαντες — ἰστᾶν] cf. comm. 84	λυθέντα φιλονεικοῦντες τηρεῖν.  κατελύσαμεν φησὶ τὸν νόμον τῷ ἐάσαι αὐτὸν καὶ Χριστῷ προσδραμεῖν· ἐὰν τοίνυν πάλιν αὐτὸν ἰστᾶν ἐπιχειρῶμεν. κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο παραβάται ἐσμέν· ὅτι τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν λυθέντα, ἰστᾶν πάλιν ἐπιχειροῦμεν·
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Table 22: Mixed comments. Typus Parisinus and the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena

There are no examples of the opposite scenario, in which an extract from *Typus Parisinus* is enclosed in a comment from the Pseudo-Oecumenian Group IV.

#### 6.3.2.2 Mixing two consecutive comments of Pseudo-Oecumenius' catena

It is interesting that in two cases the compiler mixes two consecutive comments from the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena, with one of them enclosing the other. These are the following:

- a) in Gal. 2:11 the comment 70a (Εὐσέβιος — ἐλέγχου) encloses comment 71 (κατεγνωσμένος — διὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα). Comment 71 is used as a first interpretation of κατεγνωσμένος ἦν and then the compiler replaces the phrase δύνασαι καὶ οὕτως νοῆσαι

with ἢ οὕτως. In the new compilation, this phrase does indeed introduce an alternative interpretation. This shows good understanding and management of the sources from the side of the compiler.

Catena	Pseudo-Oecumenian catena group IV (source)
<p>Εὐσέβιος δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησιαστικῇ Ἱστορίᾳ λέγει· μὴ εἶναι τοῦτον τὸν «Κηφᾶν» τὸν Πέτρον. ἀλλ' ἄλλον ὁμώνυμον ἓνα τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πιθανὸς ὁ λόγος· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν μετὰ τὸ πείραν δοῦναι τὸν Πέτρον τῆς οἰκειᾶς ἀρετῆς τοιαύτης ἐδεήθη ὑποστολῆς καὶ οἰκονομίας· καὶ τὸ «κατεγνωσμένος ἦν»· οὐ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ οὐδὲ παρὰ Παύλου τοῦ τὴν οἰκονομίαν εἰδότος· ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῶν ἀγνοούντων καὶ οἰομένων ὑποκρίνεσθαι διὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα· ἢ οὕτως· γέγονεν ἔμοι φησὶ πρόφασις τοῦ κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀντιστήναι. ἢ περὶ τοῦ συνεσθίειν τοῖς ἀκροβύστοις αἰτία· ὁ δὲ προκατεγνωσμένος ἦν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰκῇ· διὰ τὰ περὶ Κορνήλιον. διὸ καὶ νῦν ὑπεστάλη· εἰ γὰρ μὴ</p>	<p><b>Comm. 70a</b>  <u>ἄλλως· εὐσέβιος ὁ παμφίλου ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ ἱστορίᾳ ἀποδείκνυσι· μὴ εἶναι τὸν κηφᾶν τοῦτον τὸν πέτρον, ἀλλ' ὁμώνυμον αὐτῷ ἓνα τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα· καὶ πιθανὸς ὁ λόγος· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὁ πέτρος ἐδεήθη πάλιν ὑποστολῆς. ὅστις ἤδη περὶ τοῦτου ἀπολογησάμενος ἦν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ πείσας ἅπαντας ὅτε τῷ κορνηλίῳ συμφαγῶν. Τινὰς τῶν ἐκ περιτομῆς ἐσκανδάλισεν· ὅτε καὶ εἶπεν, ἐπ' ἀληθείας, ἀδελφοί, καταλαμβάνομαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι προσωπολήπτης ὁ θεός, ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει ὁ φοβούμενος αὐτὸν, δεκτὸς αὐτῷ ἔστιν. οὐ γὰρ ἦν εἰπὼν ταῦτα· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ κηρύγματος ποιήσας, ἔπεισεν ἅπαντας ὡς οὐ κακῶς ἐποίησεν τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτὸν εἰς τοῦτο ἐνάγοντος. πῶς ἂν νῦν μετὰ τοσοῦτον χρόνον. μετὰ τὸ πείραν δοῦναι τὸν πέτρον τῆς οἰκειᾶς ἀρετῆς. ἐδεήθη πάλιν τῆς τοιαύτης οἰκονομίας· τὸ δὲ ὅτι «κατεγνωσμένος ἦν». δύνασαι καὶ οὕτως νοῆσαι· γέγονέ μοι φησὶν πρόφασις τοῦ κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀντιστήναι καὶ διελέγξει αὐτὸν· ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν. ἢ τὸ περὶ τοῦ συνεσθίειν τοῖς ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ· προκατεγνωσμένος ἦν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰουδαίων ὅτε τῷ κορνηλίῳ συνέφαγεν· εἰ μὴ γὰρ προκατεγνώσθη παρ' αὐτῶν σκανδαλισθέντων ἐκεῖ. οὐκ ἂν νῦν ὑπεστάλη· μὴ ὑποσταλέντος δὲ. οὐκ ἦν χρεῖα τοῦ τε ἐλέγχου· τῆς τε κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀντιστάσεως· τί δὲ ὅλως ὠφελεῖ ἢ κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀντίστασις.</u></p> <p><b>Comm. 71</b>  <u>«κατεγνωσμένος ἦν» ὁ πέτρος οὐ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ. οὔτε παρὰ</u></p>



ὑπεστάλη οὐκ ἦν χρείαν τοῦ ἐλέγχου·	παῦλου τοῦ τὴν οἰκονομίαν εἰδότος ἄπαγε. ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῶν ἀγνοούντων τὸ οἰκονομούμενον· καὶ οἰομένων ὑποκρίνεσθαι διὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα. ὅτι ἀπόντων μὲν τῶν ἐξ ἰουδαίων πιστῶν συνήσθιεν μὲν τοῖς ἔθνεσι. παρόντων δὲ οὐκ ἔτι.
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Table 23: Mixing two consecutive comments of Pseudo-Oecumenius' catena (I).

b) The compiler acts the same way at Gal. 6:17, enclosing comment 254 (τὰ στίγματα — Κύριον) inside comment 255 (ὥσει — μαρτυροῦσι). The rationale for this is to offer a clearer interpretation of the word στίγματα in the biblical text, by replacing the word τραύματα in comment 254 with a fuller definition found in comment 255.

Catena	Pseudo-Oecumenian catena group IV (source)
ὥσει ἔλεγε· μηδεὶς με διαβαλλέτω· αὐτὰ γὰρ <b>τὰ στίγματα ἦτοι αἱ πληγαὶ αἱ διὰ Κύριον</b> · ἀνυποκρίτως με πολιτεύεσθαι μαρτυροῦσι	<b>Comm. 255</b> ὥσει ἔλεγεν· μηδεὶς με ὡς ὑποκριτὴν διαβαλλέτω παρ' ὑμῖν· αὐτὰ γὰρ τὰ τραύματα . καὶ αἱ διὰ τὸν Κύριον πληγαὶ· μαρτυροῦσι μοι ἀνυποκρίτως πολιτεύεσθαι· διεβάλλετο γὰρ πάντα ποιῶν ὡς κατὰ ὑπόκρισιν· καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ μὲν περιτομὴν κηρύσσων. ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ, οὐ.
	<b>Comm. 254</b> στίγματα λέγει τὰς πληγὰς. τὰ τραύματα τὰ διὰ τὸν Κύριον καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα. <sup>226</sup>

Table 24: Mixing two consecutive comments of Pseudo-Oecumenius' catena (II).

There are also other cases in which the compiler uses a comment from the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena in combination with something from the first half of its consecutive comment, and then continues with the second half of the second comment. This is the case, for example, in Gal. 4:13 for the comments 155 and 156. Here the phrase φησιν ἀσθένειαν σαρκὸς εὐηγγελιζόμεν ὑμῖν (first part of comm. 156) is used in combination

<sup>226</sup> John of Damascus, *PG* 95.821.15.

with the phrase οἷον μετὰ ἀσθενείας σαρκικῆς (comm. 155). The resulting compilation is shown in the first column below.

Catena	Pseudo-Oecumenian catena group IV (source)
«ἀσθένειαν δὲ σαρκὸς». οἷον μετὰ ἀσθενείας σαρκικῆς εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν· μετὰ δεσμῶν· καὶ φυλακῶν· καὶ πληγῶν· ἅπερ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντιουμένων τῷ κηρύγματι ὑπέμενον· καὶ ὅμως ταῦτα με πάσχοντα ὀρῶντες, οὐκ ἐσκανδαλίσθητε εἰς ἐμέ· οὐδὲ διεπτύσατέ μου «τὸν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ πειρασμόν». ἥτοι τὰς πληγὰς· τὰς μάστιγας· τοὺς διωγμούς·	(comm. 155)  οἷον μετὰ ἀσθενείας σαρκικῆς· τοὔτέστι· <u>μετὰ</u> <u>δεσμῶν καὶ πληγῶν καὶ φυλακῶν· ἅπερ ὑπὸ τῶν</u> <u>ἐναντιουμένων τῷ κηρύγματι ὑπέμενον</u>  (comm. 156) τί λέγω φησὶν οὐκ ἡδίκησατέ με· πολλὴν οὖν τιμὴν εἰς ἐμέ ἐπεδείξασθαι· καὶ γὰρ μαστιζόμενος καὶ διωκόμενος ταῦτα γὰρ <b>φησιν ἀσθένειαν σαρκὸς</b> <b>εὐηγγελιζόμεν ὑμῖν·</b> καὶ ὅμως ταῦτα με ὀρῶντες <u>πάσχοντα· οὐτε ἐσκανδαλίσθητε εἰς ἐμέ· οὐτε</u> <u>διεπτύσατέ με· τὸν γὰρ πειρασμόν μου φησὶ τὸν ἐν</u> <u>τῇ σαρκὶ μου οὐκ ἐξουδενώσατε· πειρασμόν πάλιν</u> <u>καλῶν· τὰς πληγὰς· τὰς φυλακάς· τοὺς διωγμούς</u>

Table 25: Mixing two consecutive comments of Pseudo-Oecumenius' catena (III)

### 6.3.2.3 Mixing Theodoret with Typus Parisinus and the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena

Two different types of combination of the compiler's source material are found in the use of Theodoret's commentary. These are exemplified as follows:

- 1) An extract from Theodoret's commentary (ἕκαστος — ὑ φ ε ξ ε ι λόγον, cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.500.32) is enclosed in an abridged comment from *Typus*

*Parisinus* (οὐ νομοθετῶν — τὸ συνειδός, cf. *Typ. Par.* 87.21, Chrys. *PG* 61.675.51) for Gal. 6:5.

- 2) An extract from Theodoret's commentary (ταῦτα δὲ — διδασκαλίας, cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.468.18) is enclosed in a comment from the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena (οὐκ ἦλθον — Χριστοῦ, cf. comm. 34) for Gal. 1:16.

This information, together with our observation that there is no instance in which a comment from Theodoret's commentary encloses a comment taken from either *Typus Parisinus* or the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena, shows again the priority that the latter two have as sources for the compilation of this new type of catena and the way that the compiler was working. This indication of the weight that the compiler was giving to his sources can also be confirmed from the amount of material introduced from each, as indicated above (section 6.3.2).

### 6.3.3. *Paraphrase*

While the compiler is trying to combine all these sources, to make the best use of them and at the same time not to create too long a catena, it is inevitable that, on occasion, he will abridge the text of his sources, as we have already seen in the previous examples, and he will also paraphrase them. He paraphrases either for the sake of the syntax of his compilation or to make the meaning more compact. The following table gives as examples the phrases that are found in the catena for Gal. 3:15-19 and the corresponding text in the compiler's source (cf. *Typ. Par.* 53.24–54.2):

The compiler	The source
ἐπηγγείλατό φησι ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἀβραάμ	ὁ Θεὸς διέθετο τῷ Ἀβραάμ διαλεγόμενος
ἐν τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ εὐλογεῖσθαι τὰ ἔθνη	εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἥξειν τὰς εὐλογίας ἐν τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ
ὁ νόμος χαρίζεται τὰς εὐλογίας καὶ δικαιοῖ	ὁ νόμος χαρίζεται τὰς εὐλογίας καὶ τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην

Table 26: Paraphrasing the source

#### 6.3.4 The compiler

As noted above, we know very little of the compiler, who is anonymous. It is only through his interventions, as in the case of the paraphrases in the previous section, that we can discern his hand at work. Comparison with the sources also reveals some occasions on which he introduces words. For example, although ἄλλος, ἄλλως and ἢ οὕτως are common in catenae, many of the instances in this catena are due to the compiler. The compiler also uses ἢ alone or in combination: ἢ ὥς, ἢ οὕτως, ἢ ὥς ἕτερος, ἢ ἐπεὶ, ἢ διὰ τοῦτο. He also has a tendency to make frequent use of the preposition διὰ usually with the genitive. In most of the cases we see διὰ τοῦ or διὰ τοῦ εἰπεῖν followed by the biblical text to be interpreted. For example:

1. διὰ δὲ τοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν (Gal. 1:3–5)
2. διὰ δὲ τοῦ παρεισῆλθον καὶ τοῦ κατασκοπεῖν (Gal. 2:3–5)
3. διὰ τοῦ γὰρ ἐνεργήσας (Gal. 2:6–10)
4. διὰ τοῦ εἰπεῖν τοῦτο μόνον θέλω μαθεῖν (Gal. 3:1–2)
5. διὰ δὲ τοῦ καλὸν δὲ ζηλοῦσθαι (Gal. 4:17–18)
6. διὰ τοῦ εἰπεῖν εὐφράνθητι στεῖρα (Gal. 4:22–27)

In some other cases διὰ is followed by the accusative, e.g. ἡ διὰ τοῦτο, διὰ δὲ τὸ ἀποκαλυφθῆναι. In many cases he also uses ἀντὶ τοῦ to introduce the interpretation of a biblical word. This is usual practice in the interpretation of words. Finally, the compiler also introduces conjunctions such as καὶ, ἀλλὰ, δὲ, γὰρ, particles as οὖν, and many times the adverb εἶτα.

#### 6.4 Character of the catena

Dorival, in his multivolume work *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les psaumes*, analysed the types of the catenae on Psalms and offered a classification.<sup>227</sup> In his third and fourth volumes he analyses the Constantinopolitan models. Despite the different biblical books under consideration, some parallels may be observed between Dorival's analysis of the Psalms and the present consideration of the Pauline Epistles. These include the extensive and systematic introduction of material from the works of John Chrysostom and Theodoret. This practice started around the year 700 and, according to Dorival, the result is what he calls the primary catenae.<sup>228</sup> The Constantinopolitan models comprise both *primary* and *secondary* catenae. Under the term *primary*, Dorival understands the catenae that were compiled from the direct tradition (i.e. the original

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<sup>227</sup> Dorival, G., *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les psaumes. Contribution à l'étude d'une forme littéraire*, 4 vols, [Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaneniense Etudés et Documents Fasc. 43–46], Leuven: Peeters, 1986, 1989, 1992, 1995.

<sup>228</sup> Dorival, G., *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les psaumes*, t. 3 (1992), pp. 1–2, 232.

commentaries of the Church Fathers), whereas under the term *secondary* he understands catenae that based their compilation on at least one other earlier catena.<sup>229</sup>

The primary type is divided into two models. The first model is the one that appeared around the year 700. The second model of the *primary* type, based on the exclusive use of the complete commentaries on Psalms, is much later than the first model and according to Dorival is to be dated without doubt in the first period of Byzantine humanism (the ninth and tenth centuries).<sup>230</sup> The secondary Constantinopolitan type for the catena on Psalms is divided by Dorival into a) daughter catenae (consisting of one primary catena combined with other sources from direct tradition) and b) complicated catenae (consisting of two primary catenae possibly in combination with other interpretations or commentaries from the direct tradition). The last part of Dorival's division, namely the complicated catena, describes exactly the catena studied in the present chapter: this is a compilation based on two different catenae (the pseudo-Oecumenian type IV and *Typus Parisinus*), and at the same time it was supplemented from Theodoret's commentary on the Pauline epistles and other minor sources, both of which represent the direct tradition.

The only apparent difference between Dorival's "complicated catenae" and the one studied here is their dating. Dorival clarifies that the secondary type, which includes "complicated catenae", is not a Constantinopolitan invention (although it is called Constantinopolitan), but exists in the Palestinian period.<sup>231</sup> It should be noted, however,

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<sup>229</sup> Dorival, G., *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques*, t. 4 (1995), p. 2.

<sup>230</sup> Dorival, G., *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques*, t. 3 (1992), p. 2.

<sup>231</sup> Dorival, G., *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques*, t. 4 (1995), p. 2.

that Dorival refers to its invention, and the practice may well have continued in later centuries or in other centres, such as Constantinople. Even though his typology concerns the catenae on Psalms, nevertheless we find analogies with this in the Pauline Epistles.

The present catena, that from now we will call the complicated Constantinopolitan Pauline catena, is definitely a product of the subsequent centuries. In fact, because of comment 33a, which is attributed to Photius, we should date its creation later, to the period of the ninth or tenth centuries. Given the number of corrections, which the manuscripts have in common,<sup>232</sup> as well as all the other shared characteristics, this catena must be a project of a scriptorium, located possibly in Constantinople. Thus, this catena with its three witnesses: Parisinus Coislinianus gr. 26 (GA 056), Monacensis gr. 375 (GA 0142) and Venetus Marcianus gr. Z. 35 (343) (GA 1925), can be a product of the first period of Byzantine humanism, created in Constantinople at the same time as the new secondary model of the primary catena was emerging.

### **6.5. Critical Edition of Galatians from the complicated Constantinopolitan Pauline catena**

This thesis provides the *editio princeps* of the complicated Constantinopolitan Pauline catena of Galatians based on the three manuscripts described above. For practical

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<sup>232</sup> See for example in section 6.2.4. two of the manuscripts have exactly the same correction and εὐαγγελίζειν becomes εὐτελίζειν (Gal. 2:20–21, in GA 0142 and 1925), or in section 6.2.2. for the biblical text the addition of one more «v» in the word ἔνα (Gal. 4:22, in GA 056 and 0142).

reasons, the critical apparatus has been incorporated in the text in parentheses next to the word or the phrase in question. The punctuation is given according to Parisinus Coislinianus gr. 26 (GA 056), the manuscript at the head of the stemma. This reflects the preparation of the text for reading aloud, featuring three symbols: the upper dot, equivalent to the English full stop; the lower dot or comma (both equivalent to the English comma, and more frequent); the middle dot, for a gap between the two (the most frequent mark of punctuation). As the older punctuation system has been retained, lower case letters are used for the beginning of sentences. The stemma and its rationale are described in 6.2.2.1. above.

In the apparatus fontium, when a comment derives from the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena it has this form: “comm. 1”. When a comment is found in Chrysostom but has also been transmitted in Typus Parisinus, I have checked both: if the wording is closer to Typus Parisinus than to Chrysostom, I have written Typus Parisinus and provided the reference to Chrysostom in parentheses. Both Chrysostom and Theodoret are cited from the Patrologia Graeca (PG) with the numbers of the volume, column and line. All the other authors are cited either from the Patrologia Graeca or more modern editions, if there are such.

## 6.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, I have shown that this is a totally new catena. It is not part of Pseudo-Oecumenian tradition, but a fresh compilation. It is attested in only three witnesses (GA 056, GA 0142 and GA 1925). These are all related as exemplar and copy, with GA 056 the earliest and GA 1925 the latest, although all may be dated to the tenth century. The



compiler's sources were the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena in its fourth stage (IV), the catena of *Typus Parisinus* and Theodoret's *Commentary on the Pauline Epistles*. The compiler's goal was to provide a synthesis of comments on Galatians from his sources. Within this, priority is given to group IV of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena and *Typus Parisinus*, the latter being used as the source for additional comments from Chrysostom. The compiler tries to keep some balance in the use of his sources, alternating their use and occasionally combining them in a distinctive way. On occasion, they are abridged or slightly paraphrased. The compiler also introduces the usual linking words that are used in catenae for this purpose, although not in such a sophisticated way as was later done by Theophylact. This kind of compilation, based on two earlier catenae with the support of one or more sources from direct tradition, finds its parallels to the model of the 'complicated' catena proposed by Dorival that is a product of the first Byzantine humanism (ninth–tenth century).

Given that this complex Constantinopolitan Pauline catena does not make use of any Pseudo-Oecumenian catena group as a whole, it is wrong to consider it as a part or branch of the evolution of the Pseudo-Oecumenian tradition. We can only consider it as a derivative form, similar in its creation to the compilation to the only representative for *Typus Parisinus* in Galatians (Vat. Gr. 692 = GA 1993), which is also not considered as part of the Pseudo-Oecumenian tradition.

Finally, the compilation of this complex Constantinopolitan Pauline catena offers some more information about its sources. As Pseudo-Oecumenian group IV and *Typus Parisinus* were re-used in this catena, they must both pre-date the tenth century (during which the three witnesses to this catena were copied). This shows at the very least that there must have been an earlier witness to *Typus Parisinus* than the oldest surviving

witness to this tradition, Coislinianus gr. 204 (GA 1910), the eponymous source of *Typus Parisinus*, which was copied in the eleventh or twelfth century.

## 7. Conclusions and Avenues for Further Research.

The surviving Pauline catena manuscripts date from the ninth century onwards. The commentary is always written in minuscule script, whereas occasionally the biblical text is provided in the earlier, majuscule script. The oldest of these manuscripts belong to the so-called Pseudo-Oecumenian catena tradition. Its name comes from the belief that Oecumenius, a writer of the sixth century, was the compiler of this kind of Pauline catena. Internal evidence confirms that this type of catena was the earliest: for example, the first-person comments of the compiler are transformed into the third person in subsequent compilations such as those by Theophylact and Zigabenus, showing that they used the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena as the base of their compilations.<sup>233</sup> Yet it is not easy to say whether the entire compilation was made by Oecumenius or whether he based his own on a previous compilation, of which, if it ever existed, there are no traces or witnesses. And there is no secure evidence identifying Oecumenius as the author, since it could always be the case that just the presence of the name ‘Oecumenius’ in this compilation served to identify the type of the catena among others and ultimately resulted in a false attribution to him.

The survey of the earliest surviving manuscripts, from the second half of the ninth century, shows clearly that the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena had been firmly established before then. However, we should not be lured into believing that the Pseudo-Oecumenian

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<sup>233</sup> Panella, Th., “Resurrection appearances in the Pauline Catenae”, in Houghton, H.A.G. (ed.) *Commentaries, Catenae and Biblical Tradition*. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2016, pp. 117–139.

Pauline catena is one more product of the movement of encyclopedism of the ninth and tenth centuries in Byzantium. Our proposed dating with the mid-eighth century as the *terminus post quem* for the emergence of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena (because of the presence of comments by John of Damascus) is close enough to the flourishing of the movement of encyclopaedism. Could this be an indication of the emergence of encyclopaedism earlier than the ninth century? Dorival, who dedicated his career in the study of the catenae on Psalms, has shown that catenae existed from the sixth century in Palestine: Procopius of Gaza, who lived in the late fifth and early sixth century, is commonly hailed as the founder of the genre of the catena. The commentary on the Pauline Epistles written in the seventh century by John of Damascus is nothing more than a compilation of extracts from Chrysostom with additional comments by the compiler. Furthermore, Codex Zacynthius, a palimpsest whose underwriting is a catena on Luke, is dated by Parker and Birdsall to the seventh century. We can only say that encyclopedism and the broader use of minuscule script in this period facilitated the proliferation of the genre of the catena in general.

Manuscripts of the Pauline catenae were used for educational purposes, addressing the clergy, the congregation, and even the enemy. The authentic exegetical tradition of the Church Fathers had been reduced into a dense compilation presented alongside the scriptural text. The sense that nobody would again write like Chrysostom and the other Church Fathers of the past was strong. This Church tradition played an important role for Christianity. Church Fathers not only agreed but also disagreed in certain matters. A writer may have been expressing the same position in different words, or expanding and confirming the position of previous generations, or even somehow opposing them. In any case all these were accepted by the Church. The extracts from the Pauline catenae must

have been the yeast for the homiletic work of the clergy. So the reader from the clergy, or their audience the congregation, were being educated through these readings. Furthermore, catena manuscripts with an explanation from several Church Fathers for every single unit of the biblical text could be used in discussions as weapons against the heresies e.g. Manichaeism, or Muslims from the Arab world.

The Pauline catena manuscripts have been largely neglected in textual scholarship. In a few cases the biblical text of certain manuscripts has been taken into consideration, largely because it is written in majuscule script. Most of the patristic citations are known because of the editions of the works of Church Fathers like John Chrysostom, but others like Photius or Gennadius of Constantinople, whose work is not extant in separate books and has only survived in a fragmentary form in the Pauline catenae have never been used. On the other hand, the catena text has always been considered too complicated to be edited in a critical edition, with the result that only diplomatic editions have appeared so far. For the Pseudo-Oecumenian Pauline catena we rely on Migne's edition and for the other types on Cramer's edition, whereas there are critical editions of individual extracts that appear in this compilation, such as Staab's edition (1933).

In my introduction I have given an overview of the scholarly research from the sixteenth century, when catenae were still copied, up to the twenty-first century. This overview was followed by a discussion of the methodological development in the twentieth century in the field of the study of the catena manuscripts. The appearance of philological criticism influenced the study of the catenae and there was a strong belief, expressed mainly by Wendland, Cohn and Preuschen, since the end of the nineteenth century that the texts of the early Christian Fathers cannot be edited before catenae have been studied. My research on the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena on Galatians does not

support this position, because of the difficulty of identifying the sources for catena extracts even when they are preceded by the name of a Church Father, since they are often heavily paraphrased. The situation presents analogies to the theoretical work *The Death of the Author* by Roland Barthes (1968): we may wonder what the author of the comment originally wrote, how this has been paraphrased and transmitted by the compiler, what was the actual message, and whether it is still the same in its new context, leading in short to the question as to whether we can still recognize the original author. Nevertheless, it is comparatively easy to attribute an extract found in a catena to a Church Father with the help of an edition of a continuous work of this Church Father, while with the same tool we may also reject the possibility that a certain extract was part of a specific continuous work of this Church Father. The greatest online repository of ancient Greek texts, the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (<http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/>), offers help that earlier generations of researchers did not have: it allows the researcher to identify an extract from any given text, shorter or longer, providing that it has already been included in the digital repository. Another tool from the digital humanities that can support the identification of at least the patristic citations is the Birmingham Database of Quotations of the Pauline Epistles (<http://www.epistulae.org/citations>) created as part of the COMPAUL project. As said above, it is difficult to study a catena without the help of an edition of the Church Fathers' texts. Even so, once the catenae are being studied, they can help afterwards in filling in any possible gaps in the existing editions of the Church Fathers.

One observation from my historical account of the study of the Pseudo-Oecumenian Pauline catenae is that most scholarship only mentions editions, translations, reuse and reprints produced in Western Europe. Both the edition by Theoklitos Farmakidis (1842–1844) and the translation in contemporary Greek by Nikodemus the

Agorite (1819) were neglected. They were both Greek and, although they tried to make the text more easily accessible, they complicated its form, either adding text from subsequent compilers as Theophylact, or by paraphrasing it in their attempt to translate it. The result was that the text no longer had the form that the Westerners were used to –even the Latin translation was almost word-for-word and easily identifiable. In my work I have tried to shed a little more light on the works of these two Greek scholars who somehow continued the tradition of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena adding material or rephrasing it in the Greek language.

The most serious attempt to categorize the Pauline catena manuscripts was made by Staab in 1926. He classified the several types of the Pauline catenae. More especially, for the Pseudo-Oecumenian Pauline catena he proposed five categories for the manuscripts known to him. The vague description of the manuscripts and Staab's insistence on the first three Pauline epistles (Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians) has prompted the present project to explore further the Epistle to the Galatians. I transcribed and studied several manuscripts, revealing that there were some gaps or mistakes in Staab's work. My research in library catalogues revealed more manuscripts than those used by Staab and I included them in my research. I scrutinized their numbering and the presence or absence of all the scholia, as well as the presence or absence of the prologues and the kephalaia. The result of my research has been presented in Chapter Two through the representative sample text of the first chapter of Galatians.

Staab's Normal Typus, or type (group) III in my classification, consists of both numbered and unnumbered scholia and seems to have derived from an earlier form of catena (type II) with an established numbering of the extracts and the addition of unnumbered scholia that constitute the *Corpus Extravagantium* 2. Type III has taken

several forms, from putting only a sign and/or the name of its author before each additional extract to assigning them numbers. In Chapter Two I have subgrouped these manuscripts. Later on, extracts attributed to Photius known as the *Scholia Photiana* were added to type III, resulting in type IV. Manuscripts of the Pseudo-Oecumenian Pauline Catena which did not fit the above pattern, through the absence of these comments, were categorized by Staab under the general category “extracts from the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena”. My research has shown that Staab’s “Spezialtypus” does not exist as a separate type: its sole witness, codex Vaticanus gr. 1430 (GA 622), is a combination of types III, IV and the secondary expanded type (Staab’s “sekundärer Erweiterungs-Typus”, see Chapter Six of the current thesis) resulting from the replacement of several quires during the centuries, with each of these supplements provided from different exemplars. All these have been studied in depth in Chapter Two.

In Chapter Six I have also shown that another extended type based on type IV is Staab’s “sekundärer Erweiterungs-Typus”, that not only uses extracts from the Pseudo-Oecumenian type IV, but also Typus Parisinus, as well as Theodoret’s commentary on Galatians. This is a complex Constantinopolitan Pauline catena which is based on two primary catenae and on a commentary of the direct tradition and seems to agree with the concept of the Constantinopolitan type of catena, proposed by Dorival.<sup>234</sup> The wording of Chrysostom’s extracts in this catena indicates that they were taken from Typus Parisinus and not directly from Chrysostom’s commentary.

A critical edition of the complex Constantinopolitan Pauline catena (“sekundärer Erweiterungs-Typus” according to Staab) is presented in this thesis for the first time (see

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<sup>234</sup> Dorival, G., *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les psaumes*. v. 3 and 4, 1992–1995.



Appendix II), along with a hybrid form of comments found in manuscripts of groups III and IV (see Appendix I), but which never existed all together in one manuscript. This hybrid form is useful for the collation of catena manuscripts on Galatians. I have used it for my transcriptions and I will continue to use it with the aim of producing a critical edition of these manuscripts in the future.

The discovery that two manuscripts, Atheniensis gr. 100 (GA 075) and Mediolanensis Ambrosianus A 62 inf. (GA 1980), provided a form of the oldest Pseudo-Oecumenian Pauline catena type, for which there are witnesses and which may be described as the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena type II, is a further contribution of the present thesis in Chapter Three. This form of this text proves my hypothesis that the *Corpus Extravagantium* was created in two stages. These two witnesses present only the first stage of the inclusion of the unnumbered scholia, whereas all the scholia that were included in the second stage can be found separately in the codex Vaticanus gr. 2062 (GA 627). This Pseudo-Oecumenian Pauline catena type II in my classification, in combination with Typus Parisinus and other sources, as I have shown in Chapter Five, was also used for the creation of Typus Vaticanus, as is evident from the sole witness to the epistle to Galatians, codex Vaticanus gr. 692 (GA 1993).

Additionally, in Chapter Four the detection of two comments in type IV, 210a and 252a, which had not been included in any previous edition, is of considerable significance. First, both comments were made by a highly literate person, potentially of importance for the textual or exegetical tradition. Second, the comment 252a clearly fits the pattern of the *Scholia Photiana*, since it starts with the repetition of the lemma text and proceeds with an explanation of it. This could, therefore, derive from Photius himself, and possibly even an otherwise unpreserved commentary on Galatians.

Despite the advances listed above, and its contribution to a better understanding of the relationship among the manuscripts and the several catena types, much of this thesis remains preliminary research on the Pauline catena manuscripts. The proposed groupings of the manuscripts should be of assistance to future researchers involved in the study of the text of the manuscripts, whether this is for the biblical text only, or a collation of the catena, or the study of the Euthalian apparatus, or the study of manuscript provenance, or the identification of the several compilers who initiated the changes in every stage. This thesis confirms the value of Faulhaber's practice of editing catenae in full, showing the whole spectrum of ancient interpretations to which they bear witness. Every critical edition of the catena manuscripts based on critical editions of patristic texts will provide a new perspective in the study of the patristic texts, resulting in mutual benefit. There could also be a comparative edition of the several types of catena manuscripts using an electronic presentation to identify the different stages of their development. The development of digital tools and methodologies in recent years could provide us with opportunities and new ideas to build not only a more extensive, exhaustive and methodologically consistent corpus of work on Pauline catenae that could also be freely accessible, collaborative and widely disseminated in order to lead to new understanding of these rich treasures of Christian history.

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## APPENDIX I: Pseudo-Oecumenian Catena. A complete compilation of all four stages (groups I–IV)

### GALATIANS Pseudo-Oecumenian Catena

#### CHAPTER 1

1	1	1	α´	<b>οὐκ ἀπ’ ἀνθρώπων</b>
1	1	1	α´	εὐθέως ἀναίρει τὸ εἶναι ἀνθρώπων μαθητῆς· ἀπόστολος γὰρ εἰμὶ φησὶν· οὐκ ἀπ’ ἀνθρώπων ἐγγχειρισθεὶς τὴν ἀποστολήν. οὐδὲ δι’ ἀνθρώπου. ἀλλὰ δι’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. εἰς τοῦτο ἐλθὼν τὸ ἔργον :~,
1	1	2	β´	<b>ἀλλὰ</b>
1	1	2	β´	σημείωσαι τὸ διὰ ἐπὶ πατρός καὶ υἱοῦ κείμενον· καὶ πρῶτον τὸν υἱὸν ὀνομασθέντα :~
1	1	3	γ´	<b>θεοῦ πατρὸς</b>
1	1	3	γ´	εὐκαίρως τῆς οἰκονομίας καὶ τοῦ θανάτου ἐμνήσθη τοῦ κυρίου· ἵνα τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐεργεσιῶν ὑπομνήσας , τούτῳ γοῦν τῷ τρόπῳ πείσῃ μηκέτι τῷ νόμῳ προσέχειν. ἀλλὰ τῷ Χριστῷ.
1	1	4	δ´	<b>ἐγείραντος</b>
1	1	4	δ´	ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς τὸν πατέρα τιμῆς τοῦτο εἴρηται. καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀκουόντων ἀσθένειαν :~
1	2	5	ε´	<b>σὺν ἡμῶι</b>
1	2	5	ε´	τι δὴποτε νῦν πάντων μέμνηται τῶν ἀδελφῶν· ὅτι οἱ διαβάλλοντες αὐτὸν ἔλεγον μόνον τὸν Παῦλον κατὰ καινοτομίαν τὴν περιτομὴν κωλύειν· βούλεται οὖν δεῖξαι πολλοὺς τῶν τοιούτων δογμάτων ὄντας κοινωνοῦς :~,
1	2	6	ς´	<b>Γαλατίας</b>
1	2	6	ς´	ὄρα τοῦ θυμοῦ τὴν ἔνδειξιν · οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν ὡς εἰώθει τοῖς ἀγαπητοῖς ἢ τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις ἡγουν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ θεοῦ· ἀλλὰ τῆς Γαλατίας :~,
1	3	7	ζ´	<b>χάρις</b>
1	3	7	ζ´	ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκινδύνευον τῇ περιτομῇ τῆς χάριτος ἐκπεσεῖν. ταύτην αὐτοῖς ἐπεύχεται· καλῶς δε φησὶ καὶ εἰρήνη· ἥσαν γὰρ ἐκπολεμωθέντες πρὸς θεὸν τῇ τῶν νομικῶν ἐνταλμάτων παρατηρήσει :~,
1	3	8	η´	<b>ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς</b>
1	3	8	η´	πόθεν ἔχετε φησὶ καλεῖν πατέρα τὸν θεόν. οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος; τί οὖν ἔχασθε· τοῦ νόμου :~
1	4	9	θ´	<b>τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν</b>
1	4	9	θ´	ἰδοὺ ἑαυτὸν δέδωκεν· ὅτῃ οὖν ἀκούσης ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτὸν δεδόσθαι. εὐδοκίαν νόει τοῦ πατρὸς :~,
1	4	10	ι´	<b>ἐξέλγεται</b>

1	4	10	ι´	ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν ἐξαλείφων τε τὰ πρότερα καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον συντηρῶν· ὅπως γάρ φησιν ἐξέλῃται ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος αἰῶνος πονηροῦ· τουτέστι τῶν κακῶν πράξεων· καὶ τῆς διεφθαρμένης ζωῆς· ταύτην γὰρ αἰῶνα καλεῖ πονηρὸν· οὐ τὸν χρόνον ἢ τὰς ἡμέρας ἄπαγε. οὕτως γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰώθαμεν, ὅταν τι τῶν ἀδοκῆτων ἡμῖν συμβῇ. κακὴν φησιν ἡμέραν ἐποίησα·
1	4	10a	٪	<b>ἐνεστῶτος</b>
1	4	10a	٪	διὰ τοῦ εἰπεῖν ἐνεστῶτος αἰῶνος πονηροῦ, ἔδειξεν ὅτι τὸ κακὸν οὐκ ἀγέννητον οὐδὲ ἀεΐδιον. ἀλλὰ πρόσκαιρον :~,
1	4	11	ια´	<b>κατὰ τὸ θέλημα</b>
1	4	11	ια´	ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔλεγον μὴ δεῖν εἶναι τὸν νόμον ὡς ὑπὸ θεοῦ δοθέντα. δείκνυσιν ὅτι καὶ τῷ τῷ Χριστῷ πιστεῦσαι. θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς ἐστὶ· κατὰ τὸ θέλημα γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς. ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὁ Χριστὸς· ὁρᾷς ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ ἐπιταγὴ τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς τὸν υἱόν. ἀλλὰ μόνη σύννευσις; πάλιν δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν εἰπὼν. τοῦ βαπτίσματος ὑπομιμνήσκει· τί οὖν ἔχεσθε τοῦ νόμου :~,
1	5	12	ιβ´	<b>ᾧ ἡ δόξα</b>
1	5	12	ιβ´	ἐνθυμηθεὶς διὰ τῶν εἰρημένων τὰς ἀφάτους εὐεργεσίας τοῦ θεοῦ. εἰς δοξολογίαν κατέπαυσε τὸν λόγον· οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτὰς ἐξεῖπεν :~·
1	6	13	ιγ´	<b>θαυμάζω</b>
1	6	13	ιγ´	δύο ἐγκλήματα τὸ τε μετατίθεσθαι καὶ τὸ ταχέως· ὡς μὴ δε χρόνου δεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀπατῶντας· ὅρα δὲ ἀκρίβειαν· ἐπειδὴ τοῦ νόμου ἐχόμενοι ὦντο δυσωπεῖν τὸν πατέρα. δείκνυσιν ὅτι ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἀφιστάμενος. καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀφίσταται· αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ φησὶν ἐκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν χάριν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ· ὁ μὲν γὰρ υἱὸς παρέχει τὴν ἄφεσιν τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι. χάριτι καὶ οὐ μισθῷ· ὁ δὲ πατὴρ πρὸς ταύτην καλεῖ· τὸ δε πνεῦμα συννευδοκεῖ· κοινὴ γὰρ ἡ εἰς ἡμᾶς εὐεργεσία τῆς ἀγίας καὶ μακαρίας τριάδος.
1	6	14	ιδ´	<b>εἰς ἕτερον</b>
1	6	14	ιδ´	τὴν γὰρ ἑαυτῶν ἀπάτην οἶον τὰ Σάββατα καὶ τὴν περιτομὴν τηρεῖν πείθοντες τοὺς Γαλάτας. εὐαγγέλιον ἐκάλουν· διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος, μᾶλλον δελεάζοντες :~·
1	7	15	ιε´	<b>εἰ μὴ τινές</b>
1	7	15	ιε´	ὅπερ φησὶν ἐν μόνον τίνα ἄλλο παρὰ τοῦτο· εἰ μὴ ἄρα τινὲς ὑμᾶς διαταράσσουσιν· διαστρέψαι βουλόμενοι ὑμᾶς. καὶ μεταστρέψαι τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐαγγέλιον :~·
1	8	16	ις´	<b>καὶ</b>
1	8	16	ις´	ἵνα μὴ τις εἴπῃ ὅτι κατὰ κενοδοξίαν τὸ ἴδιον συγκροτεῖ κήρυγμα, πρῶτον ἑαυτὸν ἀναθεματίζει εἴπερ παραποιῇσαι τί ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ βουληθεῖη :~·
1	8	17	ιζ´	<b>ἄγγελος</b>
1	8	17	ιζ´	μὴ γὰρ μοι φησὶν εἴπῃς πέτρον καὶ ἰωάννην καὶ ἰάκωβον. ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ αἱ ἄνω δυνάμεις παρατρέψαιεν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. ἀνάθεμα ἔστωσαν· ταῦτα δὲ φησὶν οὐχ ὡς ἕτερον τι τῶν περὶ πέτρον κηρυσσόντων· οὐδὲ γὰρ αἱ ἄνω δυνάμεις. ἀλλὰ βουλόμενος ἀπορράψαι τὰ στόματα τῶν ἀπατεώωνων· τῶν διὰ τοῦ ἀξιώματος τῶν ἀμφὶ πέτρον ἀπατῶντων αὐτοὺς :~·
1	8	18	ιη´	<b>εὐηγγελισάμεθα</b>
1	8	18	ιη´	τὸ παρ' ὃ δηλοῖ. τὸ ὅσον δήποτε μικρὸν :~,

1	9	19	ιθ´	<b>ὥς προειρήκαμεν</b>
1	9	19	ιθ´	ἵνα γὰρ μη νομίσωσιν δι' ὀργὴν αὐτὸν ταῦτα εἰρηκέναι· μὴ οὕτως κατὰ ἀλήθειαν διακείμενον· δευτεροῖ τὸ ῥῆμα· πείθων ὥς τοῦτο κέκριται καὶ πεπαγίωται παρ' αὐτῷ :~·
1	10	20	κ´	<b>ἄρτι γὰρ</b>
1	10	20	κ´	εἶτα ἵνα μη νομίσωσιν ὅτι αὐτοὺς βούλεται πείσαι· καὶ ἄλλοις ἄλλα κηρύττει· διέβαλλον γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ ἀπατεῶνες ὅτι παρὰ μὲν ἄλλοις περιτομὴν κηρύσσει· παρ' ἑτέροις δὲ ἄλλό τι καὶ ἀναπέσωσιν ὥσπερ κολακεύόμενοι φησὶ· Μὴ γὰρ νῦν ὑμᾶς πληροφορῆσαι βουλόμενος ταῦτα διήλθον, τὸν θεὸν θέλω πληροφορῆσαι· ἐπεὶ μήτε θέλω ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσαι· τοιγάρουν οὔτε ὑμῖν :~·
1	10	21	κα´	<b>ζητῶ</b>
1	10	21	κα´	οὐ διὰ τὸ κολακεῦσαι καὶ ἀρέσαι ὑμῖν ταῦτα εἶπον· εἰ γὰρ ἡβουλόμεν ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσκειν· ἄρα καὶ τοῦ ἰουδαϊσμοῦ ἀνειχώμεν καὶ φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν· καὶ οὐκ ἂν πάντα καταλειπὼν Χριστῷ προσέδραμον :~·
1	11	22	κβ´	<b>εὐαγγελισθὲν</b>
1	11	22	κβ´	βούλεται δεῖξαι αὐτοῖς ὅτι οὐ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων παρ' αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρέλαβεν τὸ κήρυγμα :~·
1	11	23	κγ´	<b>οὐκ ἔστι</b>
1	11	23	κγ´	κατὰ θεὸν γὰρ ἔστι· τοῦτέστι κατὰ θεοῦ ἀποκάλυψιν οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπου φησὶ παρέλαβον αὐτό· τοῦτο γὰρ ἔλεγον οἱ διαβάλλοντες αὐτὸν· ὅτι ὁ Παῦλος παρὰ ἀνθρώπων παρέλαβεν τὸ κήρυγμα· οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ἀμφὶ Πέτρον παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ· διὸ ἔλεγον οὐ δεῖ αὐτῷ πείθεσθαι :~·
1	13	24	κδ´	<b>παρέλαβον</b>
1	13	24	κδ´	εἶτα ἐπειδὴ τὴν γενομένην αὐτῷ ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ ἀποκάλυψιν ἡγνόουν οἱ Γαλάται· βούλεται δεῖξαι ἑαυτὸν πρότερον διώκτην καὶ νῦν ἐξαίφνης μεταβεβλημένον κατασκευάσαι· ὅτι εἰ μὴ θεῖα τίς αὐτῷ ἀποκάλυψις ἐγεγόνει· οὐκ ἂν οὕτως μετεβλήθη ταχέως· ἵνα ἐκ τούτου πεισθέντες Χριστοῦ εἶναι αὐτὸν μαθητὴν· μὴ καταφρονῶσιν αὐτοῦ·
1	13	25	κε´	<b>ἀναστροφὴν</b>
1	13	25	κε´	οὐκ ἂν δε ἀπὸ Παλαιστίνης εἰς Γαλατίαν ἡκηκόησαν· εἰ μὴ σφόδρα ἦν διώκτης :~·
1	13	25a	✠	<b>ἐν τῷ ἰουδαϊσμῷ</b>
1	13	25a	✠ ΣΕΥΗ ΡΙΑΝ ΟΥ	Τίς χρεια τῆς ἐν τῷ ἰουδαϊσμῷ ἀναστροφῆς· ἀλλ' ἵνα δείξη ὅτι οὐ προλήψει δουλεύει· ἀλλὰ ἀληθεία· οὐ γὰρ μισήσας τὸν νόμον ὑπέδραμεν τὴν χάριν· ἐξεδίκει γὰρ αὐτὸν· ἀλλ' εὐρὼν το τέλειον ἀπέστη τοῦ νόμου :~·
1	13	26	κς´	<b>ἐπόρθουν</b>
1	13	26	κς´	οὐκ ἐδίωκον μόνον· ἀλλὰ καὶ καταστρέψαι καὶ ἀφανίσαι φησὶ αὐτὴν προηρούμεν· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ καὶ ἐπόρθουν αὐτήν :~·
1	14	27	κζ´	<b>προέκοπτον</b>
1	14	27	κζ´	ἢ προέκοπτον ἐν τῇ πορθήσει τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν· τουτέστιν ἐπεδίδουν ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ χαλεπώτερος εἶναι· ἢ προέκοπτον καὶ ἐντιμος ἤμην διὰ τοῦτο παρὰ τοῖς ἰουδαίοις· τί οὖν τὸ αἴτιον· τοῦ αἰρήσασθαι με ἐξαίφνης πόλεμον πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς τιμῶντας πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς

				τιμῶντας καὶ ἀγαπῶντας· οὐδὲν ἄλλο φησὶν, ἢ ἡ ἀποκάλυψις τοῦ Χριστοῦ :~
1	14	28	κη´	<b>περισσότερως</b>
1	14	28	κη´	προέκοπτον μὲν. ἐπειδὴ λίαν ἥμην ζηλωτῆς τῶν πατρικῶν μου παραδόσεων :~
1	14	29	κθ´	<b>ζηλωτῆς</b>
1	14	29	κθ´	ὥστε φησὶν οὐδέποτε κατὰ κενοδοξίαν ἐποίουν ἃ ἐποίουν· ἀλλὰ κατὰ ζῆλον θεοῦ εἰ καὶ πεπλανημένον· ὁ οὖν μηδετέτε κατὰ κενοδοξίαν τί ποιῶν. πῶς ἂν νῦν μετὰ τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκήρυττον ψευδῆ ἵνα ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσω· καὶ μὴ ἐκεῖνα ἀτίνα ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ παρέλαβον :~
1	15	30	λ´	<b>ἀφορίσας</b>
1	15	30	λ´	εἰ ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς ἀφώριστο πρὸς τὸ κήρυγμα καὶ ἐπελέλεκτο· διὰ τὴν πάντως θεῖαν οἰκονομίαν τὸν μέσον εἰάθη χρόνον· ἵνα ἡ οὕτως αὐτοῦ ἀθρόα μεταβολή. πολλοὺς πιστώσῃται :~
1	15	31	λα´	<b>καλέσας</b>
1	15	31	λα´	αὐτὸς μὲν ὡς σκευὸς ἐκλογῆς ἐκλήθη· λέγει δὲ ἑαυτὸν χάριτι κεκλησθαι· ὥσει εἶπεν· ἀνάξιόν με ὄντα καὶ ἀνεπιτήδειον χάριτι κέκληκεν ὁ κύριος.
1	16	32	λβ´	<b>τὸν υἱὸν</b>
1	16	32	λβ´	ὁ πατὴρ με φησὶν ἐκάλεσεν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνακαλύψαι μοι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ· ἐν ἐμοὶ δὲ εἶπεν· δεῖξαι θέλων οὐ λόγῳ μόνον μαθόντα αὐτὸν. ἀλλὰ καὶ νῶ καὶ καρδίᾳ. οἶον εἰς τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον τῆς γνώσεως ἐνιζησάσης :~
1	16	33	λγ´	<b>εὐαγγελίζομαι</b>
1	16	33	λγ´	ὁρᾷς ὅτι ὁ καλέσας πατὴρ καὶ ἀποκαλύψας αὐτῷ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ· αὐτὸς αὐτὸν κήρυκα καὶ ἀποστόλον ἐχειροτόνησεν ; πῶς οὖν φησὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων παρέλαβον καὶ ἐδιδάχθη τὸ κήρυγμα :~
1	16	33a		
1	16	33a	ΦΩΤ	ἢ οὕτως. οὐκ ἀπέκλινα εἰς ἄνεσιν καὶ ἡδυσπάθειαν· οὐδ’ ὡς μέγα τι κατωρθώκως. εἰς ῥαστώνην καὶ ὀλιγορίαν ἀνέπεσα· ἀλλὰ σύντονον τὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου δρόμον ἐποιούμην· ἢ οὕτως. οὐ προετιμησάμην ἰδεῖν συγγενεῖς· ἢ οἰκίαν· ἢ συνήθεις. ἢ πατρίδα· ἀλλὰ πάντα λιπών. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν τούτοις τῶν περὶ Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην ἐλαττοῦμαι. εὐθέως εἰς Ἀραβίαν καὶ εἰς Δαμασκὸν καὶ εἰς τὸ κήρυγμα ἔτρεχον·
1	16	34	λδ´	<b>οὐ προσανεθέμην</b>
1	16	34	λδ´	οὐκ ἤλθον εἰς λόγους φησὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις περὶ τοῦ κηρύγματος ἀρκεσθεὶς τῇ θεῖᾳ ἀποκαλύψει· τοῦτο δὲ φησὶ δεικνύς ὅτι οὐ παρὰ τῶν μαθητῶν ἔμαθεν τὸ κήρυγμα. ἀλλὰ παρ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ· οἱ γὰρ διαβάλλοντες αὐτὸν ἔφασκον· ἀνθρώπων εἶναι καὶ οὐ Χριστοῦ μαθητὴν·
1	17	35	λε´	<b>ἀνήλθον</b>
1	17	35	λε´	Σαφέστερον αὐτὸ εἶπεν δεικνύς ὡς οὐ παρα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐδιδάχθη. ἀλλὰ παρ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ :~
1	17	35a	✕	<b>ἀνήλθον</b>

1	17	35a	ΦΩΤ	οὐκ ἀνήλθον φησὶν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. πρὸς τὸ θεάσασθαι τοὺς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀποστόλους καὶ μαθεῖν τί ἐξ αὐτῶν· ἀνήλθε μὲν γὰρ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀπὸ Δαμασκοῦ ὡς δηλοῦσιν αἱ πράξεις. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ μαθητεῦσαι· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ καὶ αὐτὸν κηρύσσειν τὸν Χριστὸν. καὶ τὴν πίστιν διδάσκειν· καὶ γὰρ ὃν τρόπον εἰς Ἀραβίαν ἀπήειν φησὶ κηρύξων· καὶ πάλιν εἰς Δαμασκὸν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα· μετὰ δὲ ἔτη τρία τοῦ κηρύσσειν με καὶ διδάσκειν. ἀνῆλθον ἰδεῖν Πέτρον· οὐ μαθεῖν τί παρ' αὐτοῦ. ἤδη γὰρ ἐγὼ εὐηγγελιζόμεν καὶ ἐκήρυκτον·
1	17	36	λζ´	<b>ἀλλὰ</b>
1	17	36	λζ´	τὰς πόλεις εἰπὼν ἐν αἷς ἀπῆλθεν. τὰ ἐκεῖ γυνόμενα αὐτῷ κατορθώματα σιωπᾷ, ὅπερ πολλῆς ἦν ταπεινοφροσύνης·~
1	18	37	λζ´	<b>ἱεροσόλυμα</b>
1	18	37	λζ´	ὄρα ταπεινώσιν· μετὰ τοσούτους καὶ τοιούτους ἀγῶνας. ἀπῆει ἱστορήσων Πέτρον ὡς μείζονα· καὶ τὸ προσμεῖναι δὲ. τῆς περὶ Πέτρον τιμῆς ἔνεκεν ἐγένετο· ὅρα δὲ πῶς ἀσφαλῶς λαλεῖ· ἐπέμεινα φησὶ πρὸς αὐτόν. οὐ μὴν ἐδιδάχθην :~,
1	19	38	λη´	<b>ἕτερον</b>
1	19	38	λη´	ὁ μὴδε εἰδὼς τινα. πῶς ἂν ἔμαθεν παρ' αὐτῶν :~,
1	19	39	λθ´	<b>ἰάκωβον</b>
1	19	39	λθ´	οὐκ ἦν ἀλλ' ἐνομιζέτο· πλὴν ἵνα αὐτὸν ἐπάρη. ἀδελφὸν καλεῖ τοῦ κυρίου :~,
1	20	40	μ´	<b>ὅτι</b>
1	20	40	μ´	ὁρᾷς πῶς ἐπαγωνίζεται τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ ; καὶ γὰρ ἐκινδύνευεν μὴ εἶναι ἀξιόπιστος πρὸς τὸ κήρυγμα, ὡς ἀνθρώπων καὶ οὐ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαθητῆς ὢν :~,
1	21	41	μα´	<b>εἰς τὰ</b>
1	21	41	μα´	μετὰ τὸ ἰδεῖν πέτρον. πάλιν εἶχετο τῆς πρὸς τὰ ἔθνη ὁδοῦ· πρὸς αὐτὰ γὰρ ἀπέσταλτο :~.
1	21	41a	ΦΩΤ	ἢ οὕτως· παρὰ πέτρου οὐκ ἔμαθον. μόνον εἶδον αὐτόν· παρὰ ἰακώβου οὐκ ἔμαθον· κάκεινον γὰρ μόνον εἶδον· ἄλλον τῶν ἀποστόλων· ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀπὸ τινος ἐτέρου ταπεινοτέρου καὶ οὐχ οὕτως ἐπισήμου προσώπου ; καὶ πῶς τοῦτο χώραν ἔχει. μαθεῖν ἐξ ἐκείνων. οἱ οὐδὲ τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἐωράκασιν· ἀγνοοῦμενος γὰρ ἤμην τῷ προσώπῳ. ταῖς ἐν Χριστῷ ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Ἰουδαίας· οἱ γὰρ λοιποὶ ἐδέοντο διδασκαλίας. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐδίδασκον· οὐκοῦν. οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπου ἔμαθον·
1	22	42	μβ´	<b>ἤμην</b>
1	22	42	μβ´	τοσοῦτον φησὶν οὐκ ἐκήρυξα τοῖς ἐκ περιτομῆς πεπιστευκόσιν, τὸ δεῖν περιτέμνειν· τοῦτο γὰρ οἱ διαβάλλοντες ἔλεγον ὅτι τοῖς ἐξ Ἰουδαίων πιστεύουσιν περιτομὴν κηρύσσει· τοσοῦτον οὖν φησὶν οὐκ ἐκήρυξα. ὅτι καὶ ἠγνόουν μου τὸ πρόσωπον :~·
1	22	43	μγ´	<b>τῆς Ἰουδαίας</b>
1	22	43	μγ´	ταῖς ἀμφὶ τὴν Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν διακειμέναις ἐκκλησίαις· ταῖς ἐξ ἰουδαίων ἐπιστρεψάσαις πρὸς τὸν κύριον. τοῦτο γὰρ δηλοῖ τὸ ἐν Χριστῷ :~·
1	24	44	μδ´	<b>ἐδόξαζον</b>
1	24	44	μδ´	οὐκ εἶπεν ἐπήνουν ἢ ἐδόξαζόν με. ἀλλὰ τὸν θεὸν φησὶν ἐδόξαζον· ὅλον γὰρ τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ φησὶ τῆς χάριτος ἦν τοῦ θεοῦ. ἐν ἐμοὶ. τουτέστι δι' ἐμέ :~

1	24	44a	ΦΩΤ	ἐδόξαζον ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸν θεὸν· οὐχὶ τὸν δεῖνα ἢ τὸν δεῖνα διδάσκαλον. ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν· αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ ἀποκαλύψας ἐμοί. καὶ διδάξας τὸ κήρυγμα·
2	1	45	με'	CHAPTER 2 <b>διὰ δεκατεσσάρων</b>
2	1	45	με'	τοῦ μὲν τὸ πρῶτον ἀνελθεῖν. Πέτρον εἶπεν τὴν αἰτίαν εἶναι· τοῦ δευτέρου. τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν :~
2	1	46	μζ'	<b>μετὰ βαρνάβα</b>
2	1	46	μζ'	τούτους ἐπήγετο μάρτυρας. τοῦ ἰδίου κηρύγματος :~
2	2	47	μζ'	<b>ἀνέβην</b>
2	2	47	μζ'	καὶ τίνος ἕνεκεν μὴ παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνέθετο αὐτοῖς. ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοσαῦτα ἔτη· ἐπειδὴ πολλοὶ ὀρώντες τοὺς ἀμφὶ Πέτρον συγχωροῦντας περιτομὴν. τὸν δὲ Παῦλον μὴ συγχωροῦντα. ἐσκανδαλίζοντο ὡς διαφωνίας οὔσης ἐν τῷ κηρύγματι, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀπεκάλυψεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἁνοδὸν, ἵνα πεισθῶσιν οἱ σκανδαλιζόμενοι, ὅτι διαφωνία μὲν οὐδεμία ἐν τῷ κηρύγματι, οἰκονομία δὲ μᾶλλον τοῦ συγχωρεῖσθαι περιτομὴν.
2	2	47a	✕	<b>ἀνεθέμην</b>
2	2	47a	✕	οἶον ἐκοινωσάμην, συνεβούλευσα.
2	2	48	μη'	<b>κηρύσσω</b>
2	2	48	μη	δίχα περιτομῆς.
2	2	49	μθ'	<b>κατ' ἰδίαν</b>
2	2	49	μθ'	ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐξ Ἰουδαίων πιστεύσαντες ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐσκανδαλίζοντο, εἴ τις περιτομὴν κωλύει, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Παύλου κήρυγμα ἀνήρει αὐτήν, ὅπως αὐτοὺς ἀσκανδαλίστους τηρήσῃ, κατ' ἰδίαν αὐτοῖς ἀνέθετο τὸ κήρυγμα.
2	2	50	ν'	<b>τοῖς δοκοῦσιν</b>
2	2	50	ν'	τὸ δὲ, τοῖς δοκοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀναιροῦντός ἐστι. τὸ εἶναι τοὺς περὶ πέτρον μεγάλους, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν τις εἴποι, τοῖς οὖσι τί, τοῖς κορυφαίοις.
2	2	50a	ΦΩΤ	<b>κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκοῦσιν:</b> διὰ τί κατ' ἰδίαν; ἵνα μὴ ἔμπροσθεν πάντων ἀναθεῖς, σκανδαλίσω νεοπαγεῖς ὄντας τότε τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς, καὶ ἀποστήναι αὐτοὺς παρασκευάσω διόλου τῆς πίστεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἀπολέσω τὸν δρόμον μου, καὶ κενὸς δειχθῇ ὁ ἀγὼν μου καὶ ἡ σπουδὴ μου. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι κενὸν τρέχειν καὶ δεδραμηκέναι, ὅταν τρέχων ἵνα σώσω, ἐτέρους πάλιν διὰ τῆς ἀπερισκέπτου ἀκριβείας ἀπολλύω; πῶς οὖν νῦν, καὶ δημοσίᾳ ἐλέγχει; ὅτι προκοπὴ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι δόγμα τινὲς τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἐτόλμων ποιεῖν. ἢ τὸ, μὴπως, δύναται καὶ κατ' ἐρώτησιν εἰρῆσθαι, ὡς διαβεβαιωτικὸν ὃν τοῦ, ὅτι οὐκ εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον, ἀλλὰ πάντα σὺν ἀσφαλείᾳ ἔπραττον καὶ προνοῖα.
2	2	51	να'	<b>μήπως</b>
2	2	51	να'	οὐ γὰρ ἵνα ἐγὼ μάθω, μὴ πῶς εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον ἥδεν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ κηρύγματος. ἀλλ' ἵνα μάθωσιν οἱ διαστασιάζειν με τοῖς περὶ Πέτρον ὑπονοοῦντες, ὅτι οὐκ εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον.



2	3	52	νβ´	<b>ἀλλ' οὐδὲ</b>
2	3	52	νβ´	ὁ σὺν ἐμοί, φησιν, ἀνελθὼν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα Ἑλλήν, τουτέστιν, ἀκρόβυστος. τοιγαροῦν ἀκρόβυστος ὢν, οὐκ ἠναγκάσθη παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων περιτμηθῆναι, ὅπερ ἔλεγχος ἦν, μηδὲ τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον κηρύσσειν περιτομήν, διὰ δὲ συγκατάβασιν τῶν ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ πιστῶν. συγχωρεῖν τὴν περιτομήν.
2	3	52a	ΦΩΤ	<b>ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Τίτος ὁ σὺν ἐμοί:</b> ἄλλως. οὐδὲ Τίτον, φησὶ, καίτοι ἐπίδηλον ὄντα ἐξ ἐλληνικῆς σπορᾶς γεγεννημένον, οὐδὲ τοῦτον ἠνάγκασαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι περιτμηθῆναι, καίτοι παρόντας ὁρῶντες καὶ τοὺς ψευδαδέλφους. τὸ γὰρ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ, ἀπὸ κοινοῦ ἐκκληπτέον, οἶον. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Τίτος ἠναγκάσθη, φησὶ, περιτμηθῆναι. οὐδὲ διὰ τοὺς παρεισάκτους ψευδαδέλφους. τι οὖν; διὰ τί τὸν Τιμόθεον περιέτεμεν, εἰ λόγον οὐ ποιεῖται τῶν ψευδαδελφῶν; οὐδ' ἐκείνον διὰ τούτους περιέτεμε, μὴ γένοιτο, ἀλλ' ἵνα κερδήσῃ τοὺς δι' ἀσθένειαν λογισμῶν σκανδαλιζομένους. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀσθενούσι, δεῖ συγκαταβαίνειν ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ πράξις τοῦ ἀρρώστηματος, τοῖς δ' ἐκ κακουργίας καὶ πονηρᾶς γνώμης ὁρμώμενοις οὐδὲ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὑπείκειν. οὗτοι γὰρ, οὐ μόνον οὐ δέονται θεραπείας, κρείττονος ἀπάσης θεραπείας τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῖς ἐνστηριχθέντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πλησίον ζητοῦσι τῆς οἰκείας νόσου ἀναπλῆσαι. διὸ, οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν αὐτοῖς εἴξαμεν, καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἀποφαίνεται Παῦλος.
2	4	53	νγ´	<b>παρεισάκτους</b>
2	4	53	νγ´	οὐδὲ ἐπειδὴ οἱ ψευδάδελφοι παρῆσαν, φησὶν, ἠνάγκασαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι Τίτον περιτμηθῆναι, ὅπερ ἦν δείγμα, τοῦ μὴ νομοθετεῖν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Πέτρον τὴν περιτομήν. ψευδάδελφοι δὲ ἦσαν τινὲς ἐν σχήματι ἀδελφῶν χριστιανῶν, περιτομήν κηρύσσοντες, οὐχ ὥς οἱ περὶ Πέτρον, διὰ συγκατάβασιν καὶ οἰκονομίαν, ἀλλ' ὥς νόμον ἐκδικοῦντες τὸ πρᾶγμα. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπόστολοι, παρ' Ἰουδαίοις τοῦτο μόνον συνεχώρουν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι περιτομήν ἐνομοθέτουν. οὗτοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ Γαλάτας διαθορυβοῦντες. οὐδὲ αὐτῶν οὖν, φησὶ, παρόντων, οἷς ἔργον περιτομήν κηρύσσειν, ἠναγκάσθη Τίτος περιτμηθῆναι.
2	4	54	νδ´	<b>παρεισῆλθον</b>
2	4	54	νδ´	οἱ ψευδάδελφοί, φησι, λαθραίως παρεισέδυσαν, κατασκοπῆσαι ἡμῶν ζητοῦντες τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ ἐλευθερίαν, ἵνα ἡμᾶς πάλιν τῷ ζυγῷ τοῦ νόμου ὑποβάλλωσι, καὶ ταῖς Ἰουδαϊκαῖς παρατηρήσεσι. τὸ γὰρ μὴ τούτοις ὑποκεῖσθαι, ἐλευθερίαν λέγει. ὅρα δὲ πῶς ἔδειξεν αὐτοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ ἐπὶ λύμῃ τῆς πίστεως εἰσεληλυθότας· πρῶτον, τῷ εἰπεῖν παρεισῆλθον, τὴν λαθραίαν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπίβουλον εἴσοδον δηλῶν, καὶ τῷ εἰπεῖν κατασκοπῆσαι. ὁ γὰρ κατασκοπῶν, ἐπὶ βλάβῃ καὶ ἐπιβουλῇ κατασκοπεῖ. καὶ, ἵνα ἡμᾶς καταδουλώσωσιν, φησὶν.
2	4	55	νε´	<b>ἵνα ἡμᾶς καταδουλώσωσιν</b>
2	4	55	νε´	οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀμφὶ Πέτρον συνεχώρουν τὴν περιτομήν, ἵνα κατὰ μικρὸν ὑποκλέψωσι τῆς δουλείας τοῦ νόμου· οὗτοι δὲ, ἵνα καταδουλώσωσιν.
2	5	56	νστ´	<b>οἷς οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν εἴξαμεν</b>
2	5	56	νστ´	διὰ τοῦτό, φησιν, οὐκ εἴξαμεν αὐτῶν τῇ ὑποταγῇ, ἵνα ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ κηρυχθέντος παρ' ἐμοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελίου, μείνῃ ἀσάλευτος καὶ βεβαία. τίς δὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια αὐτοῦ; τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθε. καὶ εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ καινὴ κτίσις. καὶ ὅτι τοὺς περιτεμνομένους, Χριστὸς οὐδὲν

				ώφελησει.
2	5	57	νζ´	<b>τῇ ὑποταγῇ</b>
2	5	57	νζ´	οὐκ εἶπε τῇ διδαχῇ, ἀλλὰ τῇ ὑποταγῇ, δηλῶν αὐτοὺς σπουδάζειν ὑποτάξαι καὶ καταδουλώσαι πάλιν τῷ νόμῳ.
2	6	58	νη´	<b>ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δοκούντων</b>
2	6	58	νη´	εἰ φανερώς εἶπεν ὁ Παῦλος ὅτι οἰκονομικῶς τὴν περιτομὴν συγχωροῦσιν, ἀπεφοίτησαν ἂν αὐτῶν οἱ τῇ περιτομῇ χαίροντες ἐξ Ἰουδαίων πιστοὶ, ὅτι μὴ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐδέχοντο τὴν περιτομὴν, ἀλλ´ οἰκονομία καὶ συγκαταβάσει· ὅθεν οὐκ ἀνακαλύπτει νῦν τὴν οἰκονομίαν ὁ Παῦλος. ἄλλως δὲ μεθοδεύει τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἂν ἀπομαχόμενος τοῖς περὶ Πέτρον, ὅτι, φησὶ, λόγον δώσουσιν ὧν κηρύσσουσι θεῷ· τοῦτο δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀσθένειαν.
2	6	59	νθ´	<b>εἶναί τι</b>
2	6	59	νθ´	ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι μεγάλων, τῶν ἀμφὶ Πέτρον, ὁποῖοι ποτε ἦσαν, οἷον εἴτε εὐαρεστοῦντες θεῷ, εἴτε οὐ. διὰ τὸ συγχωρεῖν περιτομὴν, ἐγὼ, φησὶν, οὐ διαφέρομαι. οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι λόγον ἕκαστος δώσει θεῷ, καὶ οὐ κἄν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἐρυθριάσει διὰ τὸ εἶναι κορυφαίους· πρόσωπον γὰρ θεὸς ἀνθρώπου οὐ λαμβάνει· τοῦτο δὲ ὅπως εἴρηται· ἄνω περιγέγραπται ἐν τῷ νη´ ἀριθμῷ.
2	6	60	ξ´	<b>Ὅποιοί ποτε ἦσαν</b>
2	6	60	ξ´	δείκνυσι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἤδη πεπαυμένους τοῦ οἰκονομικῶς συγχωρεῖν περιτομὴν. οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν, οἱοί τινες εἰσιν, ἀλλ´ ὁποῖοι ποτε ἦσαν.
2	6	61	ξα´	<b>γὰρ οἱ δοκοῦντες</b>
2	6	61	ξα´	κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ, φησὶν, οὐ διαφέρει τὰ παρ´ αὐτῶν, ὅτι τέως τοῦ ἐμοῦ κηρύγματος ἀκούσαντες, οὐδὲν ἢ προσέθηκαν ἢ ἀφεύλαντο. δοκοῦντας δὲ, οἷον μεγάλους καὶ ὄντας τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον φησὶν.
	6	61a	✕	<b>γὰρ οἱ δοκοῦντες οὐδὲν:</b> οὐδὲν προσελάβομεν· οὐδὲν μοι πρεοσεκτήθη, ἀλλ´ ὥσπερ ἐκείνους ὁ θεὸς ἀποστόλους ἐχειροτόνησεν. οὕτω κάμει καὶ οὐ προέκρινεν ἐκείνους ἐμοῦ· οὐ γὰρ λαμβάνει πρόσωπον ὁ θεὸς ὡς ἡμεῖς.
2	7	62	ξβ´	<b>ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον</b>
2	7	62	ξβ´	οὐ μόνον, φησὶν, οὐδὲν διώρθωσαν τοῦ ἐμοῦ κηρύγματος, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον, καὶ ἐπήνεσαν. ἡ δὲ σύνταξις αὕτη. ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον, ἰδόντες ὅτι πεπίστευμαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας, ἡ ἀπόδοσις μετὰ πολλὰ, δεξιὰς δὲ, φησὶν, ἔδωκαν ἐμοὶ καὶ Βαρνάβα κοινωνίας. τοῦτο οὖν ἐστὶ τοῦ διορθωθῆναι τὸ ἐναντίον, τὸ καὶ δεξιὰς κοινωνίας λαβεῖν, ὃ ἦν δεῖγμα τοῦ ἀποδέχεσθαι αὐτῶν τὸ κήρυγμα.
2	7	63	ξγ´	<b>τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας</b>
2	7	63	ξγ´	οἷον τῶν ἀκροβύστων ἐθνῶν. ὅρα δὲ πῶς ἑαυτὸν ἐξισοῖ τῷ πέτρῳ. τούτου γὰρ νῦν χρεῖα ἦν, ἵνα δειχθῇ γαλάταις ἀξιόπιστος.
2	7	64	ξδ´	<b>τῆς περιτομῆς</b>
2	7	64	ξδ´	οἷον, τῶν Ἰουδαίων.
2	7	64a		<b>καθὼς πέτρος</b>

2	7	64a	ΦΩΤ	<p>εἰ εἶπεν ὁ παῦλος κατ' οἰκονομίαν πράττειν τὴν περιτομὴν τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον, ἔδοξεν ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ταύτην συγχωρεῖν, καὶ οὕτως μᾶλλον συντρέχων ἐδείκνυτο ἂν, οἷς ἔργον εἶχε πολεμεῖν. εἰ γὰρ Πέτρος καλῶς ποιεῖ συγχωρῶν, τί μὴ καὶ σύ; φησί. τί δὲ καὶ μέμφη πικρῶς, ἣν οἰκονομίαν καλεῖς; ἔα πράττειν καὶ μὴ ἐπιτίμα, καὶ ὥς ἂν σοι φίλον ὀνόμαζε, εἴτε οἰκονομίαν, εἴτε δόγμα καὶ ἀκριβειαν. ταῦτα ἂν καὶ ἐλογίζοντο καὶ ἔλεγον πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον, εἰ κατὰ οἰκονομίαν εἶπε τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον τὴν περιτομὴν καταδέχεσθαι. ψυχὴ γὰρ ἐπτοημένη περὶ τι, μικρᾶς καὶ τῆς τυχούσης ἀφορμῆς λαβομένη, πλέον αὐτῷ οἰκείουται καὶ περιπλέκεται. διὸ σοφῶς ἄγαν ὁ Παῦλος, τὸ μὲν τῆς οἰκονομίας ὅλως ἀποσιωπᾷ, δριμέως δὲ καθάπτεται τῆς πράξεως, καὶ ὥς παρανομοῦντας δῆθεν ἐλέγχει τοὺς συγχωρήσαντας, ἵνα τῷ σφοδρῷ τῆς περὶ ἐκείνους ἐπιτιμήσεως, τοὺς ἀληθῶς παρανομοῦντας πτοήσῃ καὶ διορθώσῃται. διὸ καὶ δοκοῦντας αὐτοὺς, καὶ κατεγνωσμένους, καὶ ὑποκρινομένους, καὶ μὴ ὀρθοποδοῦντας, οὐ παραιτεῖται καλεῖν, ἵνα μόνον τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ κήρυγμα βεβαιώσῃ. οὕτως ἀλλήλοις ὑπὲρ τοῦ κηρύγματος ἐθάρρουν, καὶ τηλικούτῳ ἐδέδεντο συνδέσμῳ, ὥς δεῖσαν, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, διὰ τῆς ἀλλήλων καταγνώσεως τὸν τοῦ κηρύγματος κραταιοῦσθαι λόγον, μηδὲ τοῦτο παραιτεῖσθαι. καὶ ἵνα τοῦτο μάθῃς ἀκριβῶς, σκόπει· Παῦλος διὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν καταγιγνώσκει Πέτρον, καὶ Πέτρος διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἐγκωμιάζει παῦλον, καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς, σοφίας θεοῦ καὶ χάριτος εἶναι πλήρεις μαρτυρεῖ. καὶ τοὺς ἀστηρίκτους, τὸν ἐν αὐταῖς κεκρυμμένον νοῦν, οὐ συνιέναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαστρέφειν ἀναβοᾷ. ἄλλως δὲ, καὶ παῦλος ὑπὲρ τοῦ κηρύγματος ταῦτα περὶ πέτρον λέγων, κατὰ πολὺ πλέον ἑαυτοῦ περιέπει τοῦτον καὶ τιμᾷ. τί γάρ ἐστιν εἰς λόγον ὕβρεως, τὸ δοκεῖν καὶ μὴ ὀρθοποδεῖν, πρὸς τὸ ἀνάθεμα εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ;</p>
2	7	64b	✗	<b>ἐνήργησε καμοὶ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη</b>
2	7	64b	✗	οἷον τοῖς ἀκροβυσταῖς
2	9	65	ξε´	<b>καὶ γνόντες τὴν χάριν</b>
2	9	65	ξε´	τῆς δοθείσης αὐτῷ χάριτος τοὺς περὶ πέτρον παράγει μάρτυρας.
2	9	66	ξστ´	<b>οἱ δοκοῦντες στῦλοι</b>
2	9	66	ξστ´	οἱ ὄντες, φησί, στῦλοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς πίστεως, καὶ πᾶσι δοκοῦντες.
2	9	67	ξζ´	<b>δεξιὰς ἔδωκαν</b>
2	9	67	ξζ´	ὅτι κοινά, φησι, τὰ δόγματα, καὶ ὅτι κοινωνοὺς ἡμᾶς ἑαυτοὺς ἐποιήσαντο εἰς τὸ κήρυγμα. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ δεξιὰς ἔδωκαν, δηλοῦντες ὅτι ἀρέσκονται τῷ ἡμετέρῳ, φησί, κηρύγματι, διὰ τὸ εἶναι ταυτὸν τῷ ἐκείνων.
2	9	68	ξη´	<b>ἵνα ἡμεῖς μὲν εἰς τὰ ἔθνη</b>
2	9	68	ξη´	ἵνα ἡμεῖς μὲν εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, φησὶν, ἐκείνοι δὲ παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις κηρύξωσι.
2	10	69	ξθ´	<b>μόνον τῶν πτωχῶν</b>
2	10	69	ξθ´	τὸ κήρυγμα, φησί, διελόμενοι, τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἀμερίστους ἔχομεν. οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ πτωχοὶ, οἱ παρὰ τῶν ιδίων συμφυλετῶν τῶν μὴ πιστευσάντων διαρπαγέντες, διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν.
2	11	70	ο´	<b>ὅτε δὲ ἦλθε πέτρος εἰς ἀντιόχειαν</b>

2	11	70	ο´	<p>οὐ μάχης οὐδὲ καταγνώσεως ἦν, τὸ τὸν Παῦλον ἀντιστῆναι τῷ Πέτρῳ, ἀλλ´ οἰκονομίας. ἐπεὶ γὰρ διὰ συγκατάβασιν οἱ περὶ Πέτρον ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ συνεχώρουν τὴν περιτομὴν, κατὰ μικρὸν βουλόμενοι τοὺς ἐξ Ἰουδαίων ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον ἀγαγεῖν, ἐλθὼν ὁ Πέτρος εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, ἄχρι μὲν οὐδεὶς ἦν τῶν ἐξ Ἰουδαίων πιστός ἐκεῖ, ἀδιαφόρως μετὰ τῶν ἐξ ἐθνῶν πιστευσάντων συνήσθιεν, ὅτε δὲ παρεγένοντο, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὺς σκανδαλίσῃ ἔτι ἀσθενεῖς ὄντας, ὑπεστέλλετο συνεσθίειν ἐκείνοις. τούτου δὲ αἴτιον, ὥς εἴρηται, ἡ ἐκείνων ἀσθένεια. καὶ τὸ τὸν παῦλον δὲ φανερώς, ἀλλὰ μὴ κατ´ ἰδίαν ἀντιστῆναι τῷ Πέτρῳ, οἰκονομίας ἦν, ἵνα ὁράντες οἱ ἐξ Ἰουδαίων πιστοὶ τὸν διδάσκαλον αὐτὸν Πέτρον ἐγκαλούμενον φανερώς, τί δὴποτε μὴ σύνεστι τοῖς ἀκροβύστοις καὶ μὴ ἀντιλέγοντα, γινῶσιν ὥς οὐ χρειώδης λοιπὸν ἡ παρατήρησις τοῦ νόμου μετὰ τὴν πίστιν, ἀλλὰ πρόφασιν παρασχοῦσα, τοῦ ἐγκληθῆναι πετρον. ὅτι δὲ τοῦτο ὠκονόμητο, φανερώς εἰς λόγους ἦλθεν ὁ Παῦλος τῷ Πέτρῳ, ἵνα οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς πιστοὶ ἀκούοντες, μεταθῶνται τῆς τοῦ νόμου παρατηρήσεως· ὥς εἶγε τὸ ἀληθὲς ἦν ὁργή, ἔδει κατ´ ἰδίαν αὐτοὺς διαλεχθῆναι πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς.</p>
2	11	70a	Οἴκου μένιου	<p>(ἄλλως.) εὐσέβιος ὁ παμφίλου ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ ἱστορίᾳ ἀποδείκνυσιν μὴ εἶναι τὸν κηφᾶν τοῦτον, τὸν πέτρον, ἀλλ´ ὁμώνυμον αὐτῷ, ἓνα τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα. καὶ πιθανὸς ὁ λόγος. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὁ πέτρος ἐδεήθη πάλιν ὑποστολῆς, ὅστις ἤδη περὶ τούτου ἀπολογησάμενος ἦν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ πείσας ἅπαντας, ὅτε τῷ κορνηλίῳ συμφαγὼν, τινὰς τῶν ἐκ περιτομῆς ἐσκανδάλισεν, ὅτε καὶ εἶπεν, ἐπ´ ἀληθείας, ἀδελφοί, καταλαμβάνομαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι προσωπολήπτης ὁ [ns]θς[ns], ἀλλ´ ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει ὁ φοβούμενος αὐτὸν, δεκτὸς αὐτῷ ἔστιν». οὐ γὰρ ἦν εἰπὼν ταῦτα. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ κηρύγματος ποιήσας, ἔπεισεν ἅπαντας ὥς οὐ κακῶς ἐποίησε τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτὸν εἰς τοῦτο ἐνάγοντος, πῶς ἂν νῦν μετὰ τοσοῦτον χρόνον, μετὰ τὸ πείραν δοῦναι τὸν πέτρον τῆς οἰκείας ἀρετῆς, ἐδεήθη πάλιν τῆς τοιαύτης οἰκονομίας; τὸ δὲ ὅτι κατεγνωσμένος ἦν, δύνασαι καὶ οὕτως νοῆσαι· γέγονέ μοι, φησί, πρόφασις τοῦ κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀντιστῆναι καὶ διελέγξαι αὐτὸν, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν, ἢ ὅτι περὶ τοῦ συνεσθίειν τοῖς ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ προκατεγνωσμένος ἦν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὅτε τῷ κορνηλίῳ συνέφαγεν. εἰ μὴ γὰρ προκατεγνωσθῇ παρ´ αὐτῶν σκανδαλισθέντων ἐκεῖ, οὐκ ἂν νῦν ὑπεστάλη. μὴ ὑποσταλέντος δὲ, οὐκ ἦν χρεία τοῦ τε ἐλέγχου, τῆς τε κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀντιστάσεως. τί δὲ ὅλως ὠφελεῖ ἡ κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀντίστασις;</p>
2	11	70b	τοῦ αὐτοῦ	<p>ὅτι εὐκαίρως ἐποίησε λεχθῆναι ἔμπροσθεν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, τὸ, ἡμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτολοὶ, εἰδότες ὅτι οὐ δικαιούται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, ἐὰν μὴ διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπιστεῦσαμεν ἵνα δικαιωθῶμεν ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, διὰ τὸ λεχθῆναι ταῦτα ἔμπροσθεν πάντων, γέγονεν ἡ κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀντίστασις. ἐπεὶ ἐχρῆν εἶπερ ἄρα τί σφάλμα ἦν, κατ´ ἰδίαν ἐγκαλεσαι καὶ διορθώσασθαι, τοῦ κυρίου λέγοντος· ἐὰν ἁμάρτησῃ τί ὁ ἀδελφός σου, ἔλεγξον αὐτὸν κατ´ ἰδίαν. ἀπειθοῦντι δὲ, καὶ ἐτέρους καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπίστησον.</p>
2	11	71	οα´	<p><b>ὅτι κατεγνωσμένος ἦν.</b></p>

2	11	71	οα´	κατεγνωσμένος ἦν ὁ πέτρος, οὐ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ οὔτε παρὰ παύλου τοῦ τὴν οἰκονομίαν εἰδότος, ἅπαγε, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῶν ἀγνοούντων τὸ οἰκονομούμενον, καὶ οἰομένων ὑποκρίνεσθαι διὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα, ὅτι ἀπόντων μὲν τῶν ἐξ Ἰουδαίων πιστῶν συνήσθιε τοῖς ἔθνεσι, παρόντων δὲ, οὐκ ἔτι.
2	11	71a	Οἴκου μένιου	οἶδας δὲ τί παραγέγραπται διὰ κηφᾶν;
2	12	72	οβ´	<b>ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου</b>
2	12	72	οβ´	Ἰάκωβος ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χρηματίσας ἀδελφός, ἐπίσκοπος ἦν Ἱεροσολύμων. ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ οὖν ἀποσταλέντες ἦλθον ἐξ Ἰουδαίων πιστεύσαντες, ἔτι καὶ τοῦ νόμου ἐχόμενοι,
2	12	73	ογ´	<b>ὑπέστελλε καὶ ἀφώριζεν ἑαυτὸν</b>
2	12	73	ογ´	ὑπέστελλε καὶ ἀφώριζεν ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἐθνικῶν δηλονότι συνουσίας. τὸ δὲ, φοβούμενος, οὐ τοῦτο λέγει ὅτι δεδοικὼς αὐτοὺς μή τι πάθῃ παρ’ αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ φοβούμενος μὴ σκανδαλισθέντες, ἀποσκιρτήσωσι τῆς πίστεως.
2	13	74	οδ´	<b>καὶ συνυπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ</b>
2	13	74	οδ´	ὑπόκρισιν τὸ πρᾶγμα καλεῖ, ἵνα ἡ οἰκονομία ἐκκαλυπτομένη, μηκέτι ὠφελῇ τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς πιστοὺς.
2	13	75	οε´	<b>καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Ἰουδαῖοι</b>
2	13	75	οε´	ἦσαν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ περιτομῆς πιστοὶ εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, οἱ καὶ αὐτοί, φησιν, ἀφώρισαν ἑαυτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐξ ἀκροβυστίας, διὰ τοὺς ἐλθόντας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου.
2	14	76	οστ´	<b>ἀλλ’ ὅτε</b>
2	14	76	οστ´	οἷα διανοίᾳ εἴρηται τὸ, συνυπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ, τοιαύτη καὶ τὸ, οὐκ ὀρθοποδοῦσιν, ἐλέχθη, οὐ γὰρ βούλεται τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἀνακαλύψαι.
2	14	77	οζ´	<b>πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου</b>
2	14	77	οζ´	ἡ γὰρ ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐστὶ τὸ μήτε περιτέμνειν, μήτε ἀποχωρεῖν τῶν ἐξ ἀκροβυστίας πιστῶν. οὐκ ἐνὶ γὰρ Ἰουδαῖος οὐδὲ Ἕλληγ.
2	14	78	οη´	<b>εἰπὼν τῷ Πέτρῳ ἔμπροσθεν πάντων.</b>
2	14	78	οη´	ὁρᾷς ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο ἔμπροσθεν πάντων ἐμέμψατο τῷ Πέτρῳ, οὐχ ἵνα Πέτρου καταγῶ, ἀλλ’ ἵνα τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς, καθὼς προεῖρηται, ὀφελήσῃ;
2	14	79	οθ´	<b>εἰ σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ὑπάρχων</b>
2	14	79	οθ´	μόνον οὐχὶ ὅτι οὐ φανερώς εἶπε τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου· μιμήσασθε τὸν διδάσκαλον ὑμῶν ἐθνικῶς ζῶντα, τουτέστιν, ἀπαρτηρήτως. τοῦτο γὰρ κατασκευάζει ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Πέτρον ὁμιλίας.
2	14	80	π´	<b>τί τὰ ἔθνη;</b>
2	14	80	π´	Ὁ σύ, φησι, μὴ ποιεῖς, μήτε ἄλλους ἀνάγκαζε. διατί δὲ μὴ εἶπε, τί τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς ἀναγκάζεις Ἰουδαῖζειν; καὶ γὰρ δι’ ἐκείνους ταῦτα ἐλέγετο, καὶ ἀκολουθίαν εἶχεν οὕτως λεχθῆναι. οὕτως δὲ εἶπεν, ἵνα δόξῃ τῶν ιδίων κήδεσθαι μαθητῶν, τῶν ἐξ ἐθνῶν, ὅπως μὴ ἀνακαλυφθῇ ἡ οἰκονομία, δι’ ἣν ἡ ἐγκλησις.
2	15	80a	✗	<b>ἡμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι</b>
2	15	80a	✗	ἀντὶ τοῦ, ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐκ προγόνων.

2	15	81	πα´	<b>Ἰουδαῖοι</b>
2	15	81	πα´	πληρώσας τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀντίστασιν τοῦ Πέτρου, λοιπὸν ἔρχεται εἰς τὸ προκείμενον, κατὰ μικρὸν ἐξευτελίζων τὴν περιτομὴν, καὶ φάσκων, μὴ ἔχεσθαι τοῦ νόμου, ὡς μὴ δυναμένου σῶσαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ πέτρον, φησὶ, ταῦτα. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐκ φύσεως ὄντες Ἰουδαῖοι, τουτέστιν, οὐ προσήλυτοι τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ, οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοὶ, ἐπειδὴ ἐγνώμεν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι σωθῆναι διὰ τῶν ἐκ νόμου ἔργων πολλὴ γὰρ ἡ ἐκεῖ, φησὶν, ἐπιζητούμενη ἀκρίβεια, πεπιστεύκαμεν Χριστῷ, διὰ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν πίστεως, φησὶ, σωθῆναι προσδοκῶντες. ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς Πέτρον καὶ πρὸς Γαλάτας εἰρησθαι ἀρμόζει.
2	16	81a	✗	<b>ἐξ ἔργων νόμου</b>
2	16	81a	✗	διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπάχθειαν.
2	16	81b	✗	<b>διότι οὐ δικαιωθήσεται ἐξ ἔργων νόμου πᾶσα σὰρξ</b>
2	16	81b	✗	τὰ ἀναγκαῖα τῷ νόμῳ, καὶ ἡ φύσις ἐδίδασκε, τουτέστι τὸ, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὅσα τοιαῦτα. τὸ δὲ γε περὶ Σαββάτου, καὶ περιτομῆς, καὶ λεπροῦ, καὶ γονορροῦ, καὶ θυσιῶν, καὶ περιρραντηρίων, ἴδια ἦν τοῦ νόμου. οὐδὲν γὰρ περὶ τούτων ἡ φύσις ἐπαίδευσε. ταῦτα τοίνυν, ἔργα λέγει τοῦ νόμου. τούτων δὲ ἡ μὲν παράβασις ἁμαρτία, ἡ δὲ φυλακὴ, οὐ δικαιοσύνης τελείας κατόρθωσις. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐτέρων αἰνίγματα, Ἰουδαίοις δὲ ὅμως καὶ ἐκείνον ἤρμωτε τὸν καιρὸν. περὶ τούτων εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς ἀπόστολος, διότι οὐ δικαιωθήσεται ἐξ ἔργων νόμου πᾶσα σὰρξ.
2	17	82	πβ´	<b>εἰ δὲ ζητοῦντες δικαιωθῆναι ἐν Χριστῷ</b>
2	17	82	πβ´	εἰ δὲ βουλόμενοι διὰ Χριστοῦ δικαιωθῆναι, εὐρέθημεν ἁμαρτωλοὶ τῷ τὸν νόμον, φησὶ, καταλιπεῖν, ἄρα ὁ Χριστὸς ἁμαρτίας ὑμῖν γεγоне πρόξενος; ὁρᾷς πῶς διὰ τῆς εἰς ἄτοπον ἀπαγωγῆς καταβάλλει τὸν νόμον;
2	17	82a	✗	Ὅτι διὰ πίστεως ἁγιασμὸν, οὐ διὰ νόμου.
2	17	82b	✗	εἰ ἄρα ἔχεσθε τοῦ νόμου καὶ βούλεσθε καὶ διὰ Χριστοῦ δικαιωθῆναι, εὐρίσκεσθε ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἐν τῷ καταλιπεῖν τὸν νόμον. μὴ ἄρα ὁ Χριστὸς τοῦτο προεξένησεν;
2	17	83	πγ´	<b>μὴ γένοιτο .</b>
2	17	83	πγ´	τὸ ἄτοπον, τῇ ἀπαγορεύσει ἐνεῖλεν.
2	18	84	πδ´	<b>εἰ γὰρ ἂ κατέλυσα</b>
2	18	84	πδ´	κατέλυσάμεν, φησὶ, τὸν νόμον, τῷ εἶσαι αὐτὸν, καὶ Χριστῷ προσδραμεῖν. ἐὰν τοίνυν πάλιν αὐτὸν ἰστᾶν ἐπιχειρῶμεν, κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο παραβάται ἐσμέν, ὅτι παρ' ἡμῶν λυθέντα, ἰστᾶν πάλιν ἐπιχειροῦμεν. ὅρα δὲ αὐτοῦ σύνεσιν· ἐκεῖνοι ἐκ τοῦ μὴ φυλάττειν τὸν νόμον, ᾧοντο εἶναι παραβάται, αὐτὸς δὲ δείκνυσιν, ἐκ τοῦ ἔχεσθαι αὐτοῦ, παραβάτας εἶναι.
2	18	85	πε´	<b>παραβάτην ἑμαυτὸν συνίστημι</b>
2	18	85	πε´	ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ πάλιν πειθεσθαι τῷ νόμῳ, δεικνύω ὅτι ὡς παραβάτης, αὐτὸν τὸν πρῶτον εἶσα, καὶ Χριστῷ ἐπίστευσα.
2	19	85a	✗	<b>ἐγὼ γάρ</b>

2	19	85a	✕	ἐγώ, φησιν, αὐτῷ τῷ νόμῳ πεισθεὶς, νεκρὸν ἑμαυτὸν τῷ νόμῳ κατέστησα. ὁ νόμος γὰρ μοι τὸν Χριστὸν προεμήνυσε, καὶ ἐκεῖνῳ μὲν εἰμι νεκρὸς οὐκ ἔτι γὰρ κατ' ἐκεῖνον πολιτεύομαι, τοῖς δὲ τούτου δόγμασιν ἔπομαι.
2	19	86	πστ´	<b>διὰ νόμου νόμῳ ἀπέθανον</b>
2	19	86	πστ´	ἢ διὰ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ εὐαγγελικοῦ, ἀπέθανον τῷ Μωσέως νόμῳ. πῶς οὖν ὁ νεκρωθεὶς καὶ ἀνενεργήτως ἔχων πρὸς αὐτὸν, φυλάξω αὐτόν; ἢ διὰ τοῦ νόμου αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ δυσχερῶν παρατηρήσεων, νεκρὸς γέγονα τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ δι' αὐτοῦ. Ἄρα οὖν τὸν ἀποκτείναντα φυλάττειν ἄξιον;
2	19	87	πζ´	<b>συνεσταύρωμαι</b>
2	19	87	πζ´	Ἵνα φησὶ θεῷ ζήσω τουτέστι, τὴν ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀγήρω ζωὴν. τῷ Χριστῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος συνεσταύρωμαι. ὁ τοίνυν νόμος τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἀπέκτεινεν, ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐξωποίησε. πῶς οὖν φυλάττω τὸν νόμον;
2	20	88	πη´	<b>ζῶ δὲ οὐκ ἔτι ἐγώ</b>
2	20	88	πη´	διὰ τῆς μετὰ ταῦτα πολιτείας. δι' ἧς ἐνεκρώθη αὐτοῦ τὰ μέλη. νεκρώσατε γάρ, φησι, τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς. ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς ζῇ ἐν ἐμοὶ. ἐνεργῶν, φησι, δεσπόζων, πάντα μοι αὐτὸς γινόμενος· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ζῇ ἐν ἐμοὶ, τῷ μηδὲν γίνεσθαι παρ' ἐμοῦ τῶν μὴ δοκούντων αὐτῷ.
2	20	89	πθ´	<b>Ὁ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκί</b>
2	20	89	πθ´	καὶ οὐ μόνον, φησὶ, τὴν νοητὴν ζωὴν διὰ τὸν Χριστὸν ζῶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν αἰσθητὴν. πῶς; ὑπὸ ἀπόφανσιν ὄντες διὰ τὸν νόμον, ἐμέλλωμεν, φησὶ, καὶ σαρκικῶς ἀποθνήσκειν ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ. ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς ζῇ ἡμᾶς ἐποίησε, τῆς ἀρᾶς τοῦ νόμου λυτρωσάμενος· ὥστε οὐ μόνον ἡ νοητὴ ζωὴ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ αἰσθητὴ, διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν ἐδωρήθη ἡμῖν. πῶς οὖν πάλιν ὑποστρέφομεν πρὸς τὸν νόμον;
2	20	90	ι´	<b>καὶ παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ</b>
2	20	90	ι´	τὸ κοινὸν ἴδιον ποιεῖται, δεικνὺς τοσαύτην ἑκαστον δεῖν ὁμολογεῖν χάριν τῷ Χριστῷ, ὡς εἰ δι' αὐτὸν μόνον ἐνηνθρώπηκεναι.
2	21	91	ια´	<b>οὐκ ἄθετῶ τὴν χάριν.</b>
2	21	91	ια´	ὡς οἷ γε ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοῦ νόμου ἐχόμενοι ἀθετοῦσι τὴν διὰ Χριστοῦ χάριν. ἀθετεῖν δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ ἀπιστεῖν, τὸ ἐξευτελίζειν, τὸ διαπαίζειν. ὁρᾷς ποῦ ἀνήγαγε τὸν λόγον;
2	21	92	ιβ´	<b>εἰ γὰρ διὰ νόμου δικαιοσύνη</b>
2	21	92	ιβ´	εἰ γὰρ ὁ νόμος, φησὶ, σώζειν καὶ δικαιοῦν ἰσχύει, ὁ Χριστὸς μάτην ἀπέθανε. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ παρέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὡς τοῦ νόμου μὴ ἰσχύοντος, ἵνα αὐτὸς σώσῃ διὰ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ. ὡς εἰ γε σώζει ὁ νόμος, περιττὸς ὁ θάνατος τοῦ κυρίου.
				CHAPTER 3
3	1	93	ιγ´	<b>Ὡ ἀνόητοι γαλάται</b>
3	1	93	ιγ´	ἀποδείξας ἑαυτὸν μὴ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου δεδιδασμένον, νῦν μετὰ πλείονος αὐθεντίας διδάσκει, σύγκρισιν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῆς πίστεως ποιούμενος. ἀνόητους δὲ αὐτοὺς καλεῖ. καὶ γὰρ ὄντως ἀνόητον τὸ, ἀφεῖναι Χριστὸν, καὶ ἔχεσθαι τοῦ νόμου. τίς ὑμᾶς, φησιν, ἐβάσκανεν; οὐκ εἶπε, τίς ὑμᾶς ἠπάτησεν; ἵνα μὴ λοιδορίαν ἐπὶ λοιδορίᾳ μίξῃ· ἀλλὰ, τίς ἐβάσκανε καὶ ἐφθόνησε; δεικνὺς ἄξια φθόνου πρὸ τούτου πράττοντας.

3	1	94	ηδ´	<b>οἷς κατ’ ὀφθαλμοὺς Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.</b>
3	1	94	ηδ´	καὶ μὴν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐσταυρώθη. πῶς οὖν φησιν, οἷς κατ’ ὀφθαλμοὺς, καὶ, ἐν ὑμῖν; δείκνυσι τῆς πίστεως τὴν ἰσχὺν, καὶ τὰ πόρρω ὁρώσης. πλὴν ὅτι προεγγράφη εἶπε, τουτέστι διὰ τῆς τοῦ κηρύγματος γραφῆς, ὥσει ἔλεγε· τὸ μὲν κήρυγμα ἐζωγράφησεν ὑμῖν τὸν σταυρὸν, ὑμεῖς δὲ τοῖς τῆς πίστεως ὀφθαλμοῖς ὡς παρόντα αὐτὸν εἴδετε.
3	1	94a	✗	<b>προεγράφει</b>
3	1	94a	ΘΕΟΔ ✗	οὕτω γὰρ ἐπιστεύσατε, ὡς αὐτὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸν σταυρὸν θεασάμενοι.
3	2	95	ηε´	<b>τοῦτο μόνον θέλω μαθεῖν ἀφ’ ὑμῶν</b>
3	2	95	ηε´	ἐπειδὴ, φησὶ, τῇ τοσαύτῃ οἰκονομίᾳ οὐ προσέχετε σύντομόν τι ἐρῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς. διὰ τῶν ἐν νόμῳ ἔργων πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐλάβετε, καὶ τοσαύτας δυνάμεις καὶ σημεῖα ἐποιήσατε; ἢ διὰ τῆς πίστεως; ἐπεὶ μὴ ὅτε τοῦ νόμου εἴχεσθε, πνεύματος ἦτε ἡξιώμενοι· πῶς οὖν ἀφέντες τὴν πίστιν, ἔχεσθε πάλιν τοῦ νόμου;
3	3	96	ης´	<b>οὕτως ἀνόητοί ἐστε</b>
3	3	96	ης´	οὕτως, φησὶν, ἀνόητοί ἐστε, ὅτι τοῦ χρόνου προβάντος, εἰς τοῦπίσω τρέχετε. ἐναρξάμενοι γὰρ πνεύματι ἐπιτελεῖσθαι. τοῦτο γὰρ ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, νῦν σαρκὶ ἐπιτελεῖσθε. πνεύματι γὰρ ἐπετελοῦντο, σημεῖα ποιοῦντες, σαρκὶ δὲ περιτεμνόμενοι. ὅρα δὲ, οὐκ εἶπεν, ἐπιτελεῖτε, ἀλλ’, ἐπιτελεῖσθε, δεικνὺς ὅτι δίκην προβάτων λαμβάνοντες αὐτοὺς περιέτεμνον, μήτε εἰδότας ἃ πάσχουσι.
3	3	96a	✗	<b>πνεύματι</b>
3	3	96a	ΘΕΟΔ ✗	πνεῦμα μὲν τὴν χάριν ἐκάλεσε, σάρκα δὲ, τὴν κατὰ νόμον πολιτείαν.
3	4	97	ηζ´	<b>τοσαῦτα ἐπάθετε εἰκῇ</b>
3	4	97	ηζ´	πολλοῖς ἦσαν πειρασμοῖς διὰ τὸν Χριστὸν παλαίσαντες. τοσαῦτα οὖν, φησὶ, μάτην πεπόνθατε. εἰ γὰρ περιτεμνέσθε, μάτην ἐκεῖνα, τουτέστιν, ἀπολέσατε αὐτὰ· εἴτα ἵνα μὴ εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν αὐτοὺς ἐμβάλῃ, φησὶν, εἶγε καὶ εἰκῇ εἰ γὰρ βουληθεῖτε ἀνανῆναι, οὐκ εἰκῇ.
3	4	97a	✗	
3	4	97a	ΦΩΤ	<b>Τοσαῦτα ἐπάθετε εἰκῇ, εἰ γὰρ καὶ εἰκῇ:</b> ἀλλὰ μὴ καὶ ἐπιζημίως; εἰκῇ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ μηδὲν μήτε προσλαβεῖν μήτε ἀποθέσθαι· ὁ δὲ ἐναρξάμενος πνεύματι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλοῖς περιπεσὼν πειρασμοῖς· εἴτα μεταβαλλόμενος, οὐ μόνον εἰκῇ ἔπαθεν ἄπερ ἔπαθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιζημίως ἀπολέσας· ἃ ἀπέκειτο αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ θλίψιν καὶ τοὺς πειρασμοὺς ἔπαθλα.
3	5	98	ηη´	<b>ὁ οὖν ἐπιχορηγῶν ὑμῖν</b>
3	5	98	ηη´	ὁ ἐπιχορηγῶν, φησὶν, ὑμῖν τὸ πνεῦμα θεὸς καὶ ἐνεργῶν, τουτέστι, δυνάμεις σημείων ἐν ὑμῖν ἐργαζόμενος, διὰ τὰ ἐκ νόμου ἔργα ταῦτα ποιεῖ;
3	6	99	ηθ´	<b>ἐπίστευσεν</b>
3	6	99	ηθ´	Μάλιστα μὲν φησὶν. ἐξ ὧν ἐπετελέσατε σημείων, ὀφείλετε γινῶναι τὴν δύναμιν τῆς πίστεως. πλὴν καὶ πρὸς τὸν προπάτορα Ἀβραάμ ἀπίδετε, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ πίστεως ἐδικαιώθη.
3	7	100	ρ´	<b>γινώσκετε</b>



3	7	100	ρ´	ἐπειδὴ ἐδεδοίκεισαν ἀφεῖναι τὸν νόμον, μήπως τῆς συγγενείας ἐκπέσωσι τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον περιίστησι τὸν λόγον. τὸ, ἄρα, τοιγαροῦν.
3	7	101	α´	<b>ὅτι οἱ ἐκ πίστεως</b>
3	7	101	α´	οὗτοι διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα εἶχοντο τοῦ νόμου, τὸ ἀρχαῖον αὐτοῦ δυσωπούμενοι. θέλει οὖν δεῖξαι ὅτι ἡ πίστις ἀρχαιοτέρα τοῦ νόμου καθέστηκε, καὶ ταύτη μάλιστα ἄνωθεν τῷ θεῷ ἀρέσκεσθαι.
3	8	102	β´	<b>προευηγγελίσατο</b>
3	8	102	β´	ὥς μέγα τι λέγουσα ἀγαθόν, τὸ ἐκ πίστεως σωθῆναι. τοῦτο γὰρ δηλοῖ τὸ, προευηγγελίσατο.
3	9	103	γ´	<b>ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη</b>
3	9	103	γ´	τὸ, ἐν σοὶ, τουτέστιν, ἐν τῷ σπέρματι σου, ὅς ἐστι Χριστὸς. πῶς δὲ ἐνευλογοῦνται; διὰ τῆς πίστεως δηλαδή, ἥς ἀρχηγός ὁ Ἀβραάμ. δύναται δὲ τὸ, ἐν σοὶ, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ πίστιν νοεῖσθαι. τὸ, ἐν σοὶ, κατὰ μίμησιν σου καὶ ὁμοιότητα, ἐρμηνεύει ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις Κύριλλος ἐν βιβλίῳ δευτέρῳ τῆς ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ πραγματείας, περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ βιβλίου.
3	9	104	δ´	<b>ὥστε οἱ ἐκ πίστεως εὐλογοῦνται</b>
3	9	104	δ´	οἱ ἐκ τῆς πίστεως ἡνωμένοι τῷ Ἀβραάμ καὶ εἰς σπέρμα αὐτοῦ τελοῦντες, οὐχ οἱ ἐκ σαρκός.
3	10	105	ε´	<b>ὅσοι γὰρ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου εἰσὶν</b>
3	10	105	ε´	ὅσοι εἰσὶ, φησιν, ἐχόμενοι τῶν ἔργων τοῦ νόμου, ἐπικατάρατοί εἰσιν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκείνους ἐπτόει ἑάσαι τὸν νόμον, μήπως ὑπὸ κατάραν γένωνται διὰ τὸ γεγράφθαι, ἐπικατάρατος ὁ μὴ ἐμμένων, φησὶ, τῷ νόμῳ, αὐτὸς ἀγωνίζεται δεῖξαι ὅτι ὑπὸ κατάραν εἰσὶν οἱ ἐμμένοντες τῷ νόμῳ. πῶς; ὅτι οὐδεὶς, φησι, πληροῖ τὸν νόμον, διὸ ἐπικατάρατοι. ὥς οἱ γε ἀποστάντες τοῦ νόμου, καὶ τῆς κατάρας ἠλευθερώθησαν.
3	10	106	στ´	<b>πᾶς ὃς οὐκ ἐμμένει</b>
3	10	106	στ´	διὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἐπικατάρατοι οἱ ἐχόμενοι τοῦ νόμου, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἰσχύειν πληρῶσαι τὸν νόμον.
3	11	107	ζ´	<b>δικαιοῦται παρὰ τῷ θεῷ</b>
3	11	107	ζ´	Ἴσως γὰρ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις δίκαιός τις δόξει.
3	11	108	η´	<b>ὅτι ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται</b>
3	11	108	η´	μία γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁδὸς δικαιοῦσα, φησὶν, ἡ διὰ πίστεως.
3	12	109	θ´	<b>ὁ δὲ νόμος οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ πίστεως,</b>
3	12	109	θ´	ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἔργων. καὶ δῆλον ἔνθεν, ὅτι ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ἄνθρωπος, ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς. ὥστε δι’ ἔργων ἐστὶν ἡ ἐν νόμῳ σωτηρία, καὶ οὐ διὰ πίστεως.
3	13	110	ι´	<b>Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν</b>

3	13	110	ι´	ἀντίθεσιν ὑπαντῶσαν λύει. ὁ Ἀβραάμ, φησι, διὰ τοῦτο ἐδικαιώθη ἐκ πίστεως, ὅτι πρὸ τοῦ νόμου ὢν, οὐκ ἦν ὑπὸ τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ νόμου. ὅτι μὲν γάρ, φησιν, ἡ πίστις δικαιοῖ, πειθόμεθα, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὴ γενομένους ὑπὸ τὸν νόμον, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν Ἀβραάμ. ἡμᾶς δὲ ἡδὴ ὑπὸ τὸν νόμον γενομένους, εἴπερ αὐτὸν ἀπολίπωμεν καὶ τῇ πίστει μόνῃ ἀρκεσθῶμεν, τίς λυτρώσεται ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου; διὰ τὸ γεγράφθαι, φησὶν, ἐπικατάρατοι οἱ μὴ ἐμμένοντες τῷ νόμῳ. τοῦτο οὖν ἐπιλύει, δείκνυς τὸν Χριστὸν ἡμᾶς λελυτρώσθαι ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου τῇ ἰδίᾳ κατάρᾳ. καλῶς δὲ τὸ, ἐξηγόρασεν. δοὺς γὰρ τιμὴν τὸ αὐτὸς γενέσθαι κατάρᾳ, ἡγόρασεν ἡμᾶς τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου. ὅρα γάρ. ἤμεν ὑπὸ κατάραν, διὰ τὸ μὴ πληρῶσαι τὸν νόμον. ὁ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἦν ὑπὸ ταύτην. πεπληρώκει γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ ὁμῶς κατεδέξατο κατάραν, ἣν οὐκ ὤφειλε, τὴν τοῦ κρεμασθῆναι ἐπὶ ξύλου, ἵνα τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν λύσῃ κατάραν. ὥσπερ εἴ τις τοὺς κελευσθέντας ἀποθανεῖν λυτρώσεται αὐτὸς, αἰρούμενος τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν θάνατον.
3	14	111	ια´	<b>ἵνα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη.</b>
3	14	111	ια´	γέγονεν δὲ, φησὶν, ἐπικατάρατος βουληθεὶς ὁ Χριστὸς, ἵνα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, τουτέστιν, εἰς τοὺς μὴ ἐχόμενους τοῦ νόμου, τὰ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τοῦ ἀβραάμ γένηται. γένηται δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. πῶς δι' αὐτοῦ; ἐπειδὴ τῷ σπέρματι τοῦ ἀβραάμ δέδονται αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι, σπέρμα δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ Χριστὸς. ὁ Χριστὸς οὖν καθό ἐστι καὶ νοεῖται ἄνθρωπος, κληρονομήσας τὰς ἐπαγγελίας, τῷ λοιπῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει ταύτας ἐδωρήσατο πιστεύοντι εἰς αὐτὸν.
3	14	112	ιβ´	<b>ἵνα τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος λάβωμεν</b>
3	14	112	ιβ´	ἵνα τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ, φησὶ, τὸ πνεῦμα λάβωμεν. καὶ γὰρ ἡ μὲν κατάρᾳ ἐλύθη τῷ σταυρῷ, διὰ δὲ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως δικαιοσύνη γεγένηται. ἐκ δὲ δικαιοσύνης ἐπισπασμὸς τοῦ παρακλήτου πνεύματος. καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐν ἐπάγγελίᾳ ἦν. ὁ γὰρ εἰπὼν ὅτι ἐν σοὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται τὰ ἔθνη, τῇ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπιφοιτήσει τὴν εὐλογίαν ἐπηγγείλατο.
3	15	113	ιγ´	<b>ἀδελφοὶ</b>
3	15	113	ιγ´	ἐπειδὴ ἔκ τε τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς σημείων, καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐπιφοιτήσεως, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἐσώθη ὁ Ἀβραάμ, ἔδειξε τὴν πίστιν σώζειν, καὶ οὐ τὸν νόμον· νῦν ἀπὸ ἀνθρωπίνου παραδείγματος αὐτοὺς πείσαι ζητεῖ. τὸ γὰρ, κατὰ ἄνθρωπον, ἀντὶ τοῦ, κατὰ ἀνθρώπινον λόγον καὶ παράδειγμα. καλῶς δὲ ἀδελφοὺς καλεῖ, ἀνοήτους καλέσας. δεῖ γὰρ, ποτὲ μὲν ἐπιστύφειν, πότε δὲ γλυκαίνειν.
3	15	114	ιδ´	<b>ἀνθρώπου κεκυρωμένην διαθήκην</b>
3	15	114	ιδ´	ὅρα τί θέλει κατασκευάσαι διὰ τοῦ ὑποδείγματος τῆς διαθήκης. ἐπηγγείλατό, φησιν, ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἀβραάμ, διὰ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ εὐλογεῖσθαι τὰ ἔθνη. σπέρμα δὲ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, τὸ κατὰ σάρκα ὁ Χριστὸς. ὁ νόμος ἐδόθη μετὰ ἔτη τετρακόσια τριάκοντα. εἰ τοίνυν, φησὶν, ὁ νόμος χαρίζεται τὰς εὐλογίας καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ἡ ἐπαγγελία καὶ ἡ διαθήκη τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ πρὸς Ἀβραάμ, ἄκυρος γίνεται. εἴτα ἀνθρώπου μὲν διαθήκην οὐδεὶς ἀθετεῖ, τοῦ θεοῦ δὲ ἀκυροῦται ἡ διαθήκη; καὶ ταῦτα πολὺν χρόνον κρατήσασα, μετὰ τετρακόσια τριάκοντα ἔτη. εἰ γὰρ ἐπηγγείλατο μὲν ἐκείνῃ εὐλογεῖν διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ δὲ νόμος ἀντὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐλογεῖ, ἄρα ἀκυροῦται ἡ διαθήκη τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ πρὸς Ἀβραάμ.

3	15	114a	ΦΩΤ	<b>Ὅμως ἀνθρώπου κεκυρωμένην:</b> καλῶς κεκυρωμένην φησὶ. ὅρκῳ γὰρ ἐκεκύρωτο. ἀκριβῶς δὲ τὸ, κεκυρωμένην, φησὶν. ἢ γὰρ ἄκυρος καὶ μετατίθεται, ὥσπερ ὁ νόμος αὐτὸς, εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον,
3	15	114b	∕	<b>ἐπιδιατάσσεται,</b>
3	15	114b	∕	τουτέστι, προστίθῃσιν τί.
3	16	114c	∕	<b>ἐρρήθησαν</b>
3	16	114c	∕	οἷον ἀπηγγέλθησαν.
3	17	115	ιε´	<b>τοῦτο δὲ λέγω, διαθήκην</b>
3	17	115	ιε´	σαφήνειας χάριν αναλαμβάνει τὸν λόγον.
3	17	116	ιζ´	<b>ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς Χριστὸν</b>
3	17	116	ιζ´	εἰς Χριστὸν γὰρ ἦν ἡ ἐπαγγελία. εἶπε γὰρ, διὰ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ εὐλογεῖσθαι τὰ ἔθνη. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ, ἐν σοί. σπέρμα δὲ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, τὸ κατὰ σάρκα ὁ Χριστὸς.
3	18	117	ιζ´	<b>καταργῆσαι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν</b>
3	18	117	ιζ´	εἰ γὰρ διὰ τοῦ νόμου γεγένηται ἡ εὐλογία, καὶ μὴ διὰ Χριστοῦ, ἡκύνωται καὶ ἔσβεσται ἡ ἐπαγγελία καὶ ἡ διαθήκη τοῦ θεοῦ.
3	18	117a	∕	<b>εἰ γὰρ ἐκ νόμου ἡ κληρονομία</b>
3	18	117a	∕	αὐτὸς αὐτὸ ἡρμήνευσεν.
3	18	117b	∕	<b>δι' ἐπαγγελίας</b>
3	18	117b	∕	τὴν εὐλογίαν φησὶ καὶ οὐ διὰ νόμου :~·
3	18	117c	∕	<b>ὁ μετὰ ἔτη τετρακόσια καὶ τριάκοντα</b>
3	18	117c	∕	οἱ τετρακόσιοι τριάκοντα χρόνοι συνάγονται οὕτως· ἀπὸ οε´ ἔτους Ἀβραάμ ἕως ρ´ ψηφίζεται ἔτη κε´. Ἰσαὰκ ἔτη ξ´. Ἰακώβ, ἔτη ηε´. Ἰωσήφ, ἔτη ρι´· ἐν αἰγύπτῳ ἔτη ρμδ´· ὁμοῦ, ἔτη υλ´.
3	19	118	ιη´	<b>τί οὖν;</b>
3	19	118	ιη´	ὥς ἐξ ἀντιθέσεως εἴρηται αὐτῷ. τί οὖν ὁ νόμος ἐδόθη, φησὶν, εἰ σῶσαι οὐκ ἰσχύει;
3	19	119	ιθ´	<b>Τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν</b>
3	19	119	ιθ´	οὐκ εἰκῇ ἐδόθη, φησὶν, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ παραβαίνηται τὸ δοκοῦν τῷ θεῷ, ἵνα κἂν ὀλίγας πλημμελείας κωλύῃ.
3	19	120	κ´	<b>προσετέθη</b>
3	19	120	κ´	καλῶς δὲ τὸ, προσετέθη, ἵνα δείξῃ τὸν νόμον μὴ ὄντα πρωτότυπον, ὥσπερ αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι εἰσὶν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιγενομένου τινὸς δοθέντα.
3	19	121	κα´	<b>ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃ</b>
3	19	121	κα´	ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς ἀπέραντον, φησὶν, ὁ νόμος ἐδόθη, ἀλλ' ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃ ὁ Χριστὸς, ᾧ ἐπήγγελται τὸ ἐνευλογεῖν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη.
3	19	122	κβ´	<b>διαταγεῖς δι' ἀγγέλου</b>

3	19	122	κβ´	ἐδόθη δὲ ὁ νόμος, διαταγείς, τουτέστι, διακονηθεὶς καὶ ἐπιταγείς διὰ μέσων ἀγγέλων, ἢ τῶν ἱερέων, ἢ ὄντως ἀγγέλων. ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου ἐδόθη, φησὶ, τουτέστι, τοῦ Χριστοῦ. θέλει γὰρ δεῖξαι καὶ τὸν νόμον ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ δεδομένον, ἵνα καὶ τοῦ ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν κύριος γένηται. ὁ γὰρ δεδοκώς, καὶ ἀνελεῖν ἐξουσίαν ἔχει. μεσίτην δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν καλεῖ, διὰ τὸ μεσιτεῦσαι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οἷον πρὸς φιλίαν. καὶ ἀποκαταλλάξαι ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν, ἐκπεπολεμωμένους.
3	19	122a	∕	<b>ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου</b>
3	19	122a	ΙΩ∕	μεσίτην ἐνταῦθα τὸν Χριστὸν φησι, δεικνὺς ὅτι καὶ πρότερον τὸν νόμον αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν. ὁ δὲ μεσίτης, φησὶν, ἐνὸς οὐκ ἔστιν, ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἷς ἐστίν. ὁ μεσίτης, φησὶ, δύο τινῶν γίνεται μεσίτης. τίνος οὖν μεσίτης ὁ Χριστός; δηλονότι ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ θεοῦ. ὁρᾷς πῶς δείκνυσιν ὅτι καὶ τὸν νόμον αὐτὸς ἔδωκε, καὶ κύριος ἂν εἴη καὶ λύσειν πάλιν;
3	19	122b	∕	<b>ὁ δὲ μεσίτης ἐνὸς οὐκ ἔστιν</b>
3	19	122b	Γεννα δ ∕	λέγει τοίνυν, ὅτι Μωσῆς μὲν ἐμεσίτευσε πρὸς τὴν δόσιν τοῦ νόμου, ἀλλ´ ἐνὶ μόνον ἐμεσίτευσεν ἔθνει. δεῖ δὲ τὸν ὡς ἀληθῶς μέλλοντα μεσιτεῦειν πρὸς τὸν τῶν ἀπάντων ἐθνῶν ἕνα θεόν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐνὸς ἔθνους, ἀλλ´ ὑπὲρ πάντων κοινῇ τὴν μεσιτείαν ποιήσασθαι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πάντων ἐθνῶν εἷς ἐστὶ θεός. εἴη δ´ ἂν οὗτος, οὐ ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος οἷος Μωϋσῆς, ἀλλὰ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, θεὸς τε ὢν ἀληθῶς ὁ αὐτὸς ἅμα, καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἀληθῶς, καὶ τῇ συγγενείᾳ τῇ πρὸς ἐκάτερον, εἰς ἓν συνάγων ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰ ἐκότερα. αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐστίν ἡ εἰρήνη ἡμῶν, ὁ ποιήσας τὰ ἀμφοτέρωθεν.
3	19	122c	∕	<b>διαταγείς δι´ ἀγγέλων</b>
3	19	122c	Ἰωάννου ∕	ἢ τοὺς ἱερέας ἀγγέλους καλεῖ. ἢ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἀγγέλους ὑπηρετήσασθαι φησὶν τῇ νομοθεσίᾳ.
3	20	123	κγ´	<b>Ἐνὸς οὐκ ἔστιν</b>
3	20	123	κγ´	οὐ γὰρ ἐνὸς γέγονε μεσίτης, ἀλλὰ θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων. εἰ δὲ αὐτὸς ἐμεσίτευσέ, φησὶν, αὐτὸς καὶ σώσει.
3	20	124	κδ´	<b>ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἷς ἐστίν</b>
3	20	124	κδ´	εἰ οὖν τὸν μεσίτην ἀνάγκη πᾶσα δύο τινῶν ἢ καὶ πλειόνων πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς διαφερομένων εἶναι μεσίτην, ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἷς ἐστίν, εὐδὴλον ὅτι τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐμεσίτευσε, καὶ ἀποκατήλλαξεν ἡμᾶς πρὸς αὐτόν. εἰ οὖν ὁ Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ οὐχ ὁ νόμος ἀποκατήλλαξεν, εὐδὴλον ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ ἡ εἰς αὐτὸν πίστις σώζει, καὶ οὐχ ὁ νόμος.
3	20	124a	ΦΩΤ	ἄλλο. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐστίν ὁ καὶ τὸν νόμον καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον δοὺς, καὶ μεσιτεύσας καὶ ἀποκαταλλάξας τῷ πατρὶ. τουτέστιν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐστίν, ὃς ἐστὶ Χριστὸς. εἰ γὰρ καὶ δύο τὰ μεσιτευόμενα, ἀλλ´ ὁ μεσίτης εἷς ἐστίν· εἷς γὰρ καὶ ὀφείλει εἶναι.
3	21	125	κε´	<b>ὁ οὖν νόμος</b>
3	21	125	κε´	εἰ γὰρ αἱ μὲν ἐπαγγελίαι εὐλόγουν, ὁ δὲ νόμος ἐπικαταράτους ποιεῖ, ἄρα ὁ νόμος κατὰ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐδόθη, τουτέστιν, εἰς τὸ ἐμποδίσαι αὐταῖς τοῦ εὐλογῆσαι. ταύτην οὖν λύει τὴν ἀντίθεσιν, τοῖς τε ἐξῆς, καὶ τῇ ἀπαγορεύσει. μὴ γένοιτο γὰρ, φησὶν.

3	21	125a	ΦΩΤ	<p>ὁ οὖν νόμος κατὰ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ; ἀντίθεσιν λύει. ἤρπασε γὰρ, φαῖεν ἂν τινες, ὁ νόμος τὸ δικαίωμα τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν, καὶ γέγονε κατ' αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ μὴ γένοιτο. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἡδύνατο ζωοποιεῖν, εἰκότως ἂν τις ἐνόμιζε κατὰ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν ἐκτεσθεῖσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων δικαίωμα ὑφαρπάσαι, ἅτε αὐτὸν ἰσχύοντα δικαιῶσαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ἰσχύει ποιῆσαι, οὔτε ζωοποιῆσαι, οὔτε δικαιῶσαι, δηλονότι οὐκ ἐδόθη κατὰ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν. αὗται γὰρ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐπιδείξουσιν δικαίωμα, σώζουσαι καὶ διακαιοῦσαι τὸν ἐκ πίστεως. καὶ ὅρα σοφίαν. ὅπερ ἂν τις ἕτερος εἰς διαβολὴν τοῦ νόμου προήνεγκεν, ὅτι οὐ ζωοποιεῖ, οὐδὲ δικαιοῖ, τοῦτο αὐτὸς εἰς ἀπολογίαν ἐγκλήματος καὶ εἰς ἐγκώμιον συνεστήσατο. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ, φησὶν, ὁ νόμος οὐ γέγονε κατὰ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν, ὅτι μηδὲ σώζειν μηδὲ δικαιοῦν ἴσχυσεν. οὐ μόνον δὲ οὐ γέγονε κατ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ γε τρόπον τινὰ καὶ συνήργησε καὶ ὑπηρετήσατο αὐταῖς· δι' ὧν γὰρ οὐκ ἔσωσεν οὐδὲ ἐδικαίωσεν, ἐπὶ τὴν πίστιν καταφυγεῖν προετρέψατο. δι' ὧν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν πίστιν συνήλασε, τὰς ἐπαγγελίας τελειωθῆναι συγκατειργάσατο.</p>
3	21	126	κστ'	<p><b>εἰ γὰρ ἐδόθη νόμος ὁ δυνάμενος ζωοποιῆσαι</b></p>
3	21	126	κστ'	<p>εἰ μὲν γάρ, φησιν, ὁ νόμος εἶχεν ἰσχὺν τοῦ σώζειν, οὐδὲ χρεία ἦν τῆς πίστεως. ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἴσχυσε ζωοποιῆσαι, ἵνα ἡ πίστις χώραν λάβῃ, πλὴν ὅτι προεκάθαιρε καὶ προωδῇγει παιδαγωγοῦ δίκην, καὶ χωρητικοὺς ἡμᾶς ἀπετέλει καὶ δεκτικούς τῆς πίστεως. πῶς οὖν κατὰ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ προοδοποιῶν ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις;</p>
3	21	126a	✗	<p><b>ἐδόθη νόμος</b></p>
3	21	126a	Γεννα δ ✗	<p>οὐ τοίνυν ἐνδεχόμενον οὐδὲ εὐλογον, ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει τῶν εὐλογιῶν δεδοσθαι φάναι τὸν νόμον.</p>
3	21	127	κζ'	<p><b>Ὅντως ἂν ἐκ νόμου ἦν ἡ δικαιοσύνη</b></p>
3	21	127	κζ'	<p>νῦν δέ, φησιν, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἴσχυσεν, ἵνα ἡ πίστις ἰσχύσῃ.</p>
3	22	128	κη'	<p><b>ἀλλὰ συνέκλεισε</b></p>
3	22	128	κη'	<p>ἀλλὰ συνέκλεισε, τουτέστι, συγκλεισθῆναι συνεχώρησε καὶ οἶον ἀποστενωθῆναι τοὺς πάντας εἰς ἁμαρτίαν ὁ θεός, διὰ τῶν οἰκείων διαφόρως λόγων καὶ διοικήσεων. αὗται γὰρ ἡ γραφή, ἵνα, φησὶ, χώραν λάβῃ ἡ διὰ Χριστοῦ πίστις. καὶ γὰρ τέως ὁ νόμος παραβαινόμενος, ἐδίδαξε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὅτι ἁματωλοί εἰσιν. ἀλλὰ διδάξας, οὐκ ἠλευθέρωσε τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ὥς λοιπὸν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φανείσῃ τῇ πίστει ἀσμένως προσελθεῖν, τῷ ἐθέλειν ῥυσθῆναι τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν. τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονε, φησιν, ἵνα αἱ πρὸς τὸν Ἀβραάμ ἐπαγγελίαι, τὸ, εὐλογηθήσονται τὰ ἔθνη, διὰ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως, δοθῶσι τοῖς παραδεχομένοις αὐτήν.</p>
3	22	128a	✗	<p><b>συνέκλεισε</b></p>
3	22	128a	ΘΕΟΔ ✗	<p>διήλεγξεν ἡ θεία γραφή καὶ τοὺς πρὸ νόμου καὶ τοὺς ἐν νόμῳ. τοὺς μὲν τὸν τῆς φύσεως, τοὺς δὲ τὸν μωσαϊκὸν παραβαίνοντας. ἀλεξιφάρμακον δὲ καὶ τούτοις κἀκεῖνοις τὴν ἐπηγγελμένην διὰ τῆς πίστεως προσενήνοχε σωτηρίαν. πάλιν γὰρ τὸ, συνέκλεισεν, ἀντὶ τοῦ, ἤλεγξε, τέθεικε.</p>

3	22	128b	ΦΩΤ	<b>Ἀλλὰ συνέκλεισεν ἡ γραφή:</b> Ὁ νόμος, φησὶν, οἷον εἰ περιέλαβε καὶ περιέκλεισε πάντας εἰς ἁμαρτίαν, ἁμαρτωλοὺς ἀπέδειξε. πῶς; εἶπε γὰρ, ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὃς οὐκ ἐμμένει ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς γεγραμμένοις, τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτά. τοῦτο δὲ ἀδύνατον. οὐ μόνον γὰρ οὐχὶ πάντες ἐποίησαν ἅπαντα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἕνιοι αὐτῶν ἅπαντα, ἀλλὰ μόλις οἱ ἐπιφανέστεροι αὐτῶν τὰ πλείονα. ὥστε τῷ μὴ πάντα ποιῆσαι, κἀκεῖνοι ὑπὸ κατάραν καὶ ἁμαρτίαν ἦσαν. ἅπαντες ἄρα συγκεκλεισμένοι ἐτυχανον εἰς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν. διὸ ἐκ μόνης πίστεως δύνανται τυχεῖν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας. ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ νόμου, μᾶλλον καὶ εἰς ἁμαρτίαν συνελαθέντες ἀπεδείχθησαν ἅπαντες.
3	23	129	κθ´	<b>πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἐλθεῖν τὴν πίστιν</b>
3	23	129	κθ´	καὶ γὰρ οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἀσφάλειαν παρεῖχε τῷ τῶν πλειόνων ἀπείργειν ἁμαρτημάτων.
3	23	129a	✕	<b>ὑπὸ νόμον ἐφρουρούμεθα</b>
3	23	129a	Γενναδίου ✕	Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν, φησὶν, οὐκ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἀλλ' ὕστερον χάριτι τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἡμᾶς ἦν θεῷ δοκοῦν ἀπολαῦσαι, εἰκότως τέως νόμοις ἡ φύσις ἡμῶν περὶ ἐτειχίζετο κωλυομένη τὴν καὶ ἀναχαιτιζομένη πρὸς ἐκάστης ἁμαρτίας ἐνέργειαν, ἵνα εἰς τὴν δια πίστεως ἀναπεταννυμένην δικαιοσύνην εὐτρεπεῖς ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου τοῦ κατὰ νόμον ἀπολυθεῖμεν.
3	23	130	λ´	<b>συγκεκλεισμένοι</b>
3	23	130	λ´	φυλαττόμενοι, φησὶ, πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν πίστιν. πῶς; ὁ γὰρ νόμος ἐλέγχων ἡμῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας, ρύσασθαι δὲ οὐκ ἰσχύων, οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἐποίει, ἢ προθυμότερους εἰς τὸ φανείσθαι τῇ πίστει προσδραμεῖν τοῦ ρυθθῆναι τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν.
3	23	131	λα´	<b>εἰς τὴν μέλλουσαν πίστιν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι</b>
3	23	131	λα´	ἐδήλωσεν ὅτι ἄνωθεν ἡ εἰς Χριστὸν πίστις προώριστο, ἀλλὰ νῦν γέγονε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καταφανής, ὅτε καὶ ἡ ἐνανθρώπησις.
3	24	132	λβ´	<b>ὥστε ὁ νόμος παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῶν</b>
3	24	132	λβ´	προοδοποιῶν δηλαδὴ τῇ εἰς Χριστὸν πίστει, διὰ τοῦ γνωρίζειν μὲν ἡμῖν τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, κατεπιθύμους δὲ ποιεῖν, φανείσθαι τῇ πίστει προσδραμεῖν καὶ τῇ ἀφέσει. ὥστε οὐκ ἐναντίος ὁ νόμος τῇ πίστει. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ παιδαγωγὸς τῷ διδασκάλῳ, ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνον βούλεται, καὶ προδιδάσκει ποσῶς τὰ μαθήματα.
3	24	133	λγ´	<b>γέγονεν εἰς Χριστὸν</b>
3	24	133	λγ´	ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ παιδαγωγὸς προδιδάσκει τοὺς παῖδας, ἵνα εἰς διδασκάλους φοιτήσαντες εὐμαθέστεροι ἔσονται καὶ τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνους δέξασθαι, οὕτως καὶ ὁ νόμος προδείξας ἡμῖν αὐτὸ τὸ εἶδέναι ὅτι ἁμαρτάνομεν, οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ ἐτοιμότερους ἐποίει, φανέντι τῷ Χριστῷ προσδραμεῖν τῷ ποθεῖν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τῶν διὰ τοῦ νόμου γενομένων ἡμῖν καταφανῶν. κάλλιστα οὖν αὐτῷ εἶρηται τὸ τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ παράδειγμα.
3	24	134	λδ´	<b>ἵνα ἐκ πίστεως</b>
3	24	134	λδ´	ἐλέγχων γὰρ τὰς ἁμαρτίας, καὶ μὴ ἰσχύων δικαιῶσαι, τῷ Χριστῷ ἡμᾶς παρέπεμπε.
3	25	135	λε´	<b>ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς πίστεως</b>
3	25	135	λε´	τῆς λοιπὸν τὴν τελειότητα καὶ τὴν υἰοθεσίαν δωρουμένης.
3	25	136	λστ´	<b>οὐκ ἔτι ὑπὸ παιδαγωγόν ἐσμεν</b>

3	25	136	λστ´	νηπίους γὰρ ὄντας, ἔδει ὑπὸ παιδαγωγὸν πράττειν, οὐ μὴν τελείους γενομένους. τελειότητος γὰρ ἀπόδειξις, τὸ εἰς υἱοὺς εἰς ποιηθῆναι τῷ θεῷ.
3	26	137	λζ´	<b>διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ</b>
3	26	137	λζ´	διὰ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ πίστεως. οὕτω γὰρ ἡ σύνταξις. ὅρα δὲ πρότερον υἱοὺς Ἀβραάμ εἰπὼν διὰ τῆς πίστεως, νῦν υἱοὺς λέγει τοῦ θεοῦ.
3	27	138	λη´	<b>ὅσοι γὰρ εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε</b>
3	27	138	λη´	ἐπειδὴ μέγα εἶπεν υἱοὺς θεοῦ ἡμᾶς κεκληκῶς, λέγει καὶ τὸν τρόπον πῶς γεγόναμεν. ὥφειλε δὲ ὡς πρὸς τὸ προκείμενον νόημα εἰπεῖν, ὅσοι εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε, υἱοὶ θεοῦ γεγόνατε· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ ἀκολουθία. ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ μᾶλλον περιγεγονότι τὸ αὐτὸ εἶπεν. εἰ γὰρ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνδεδύμεθα, καὶ οἶον τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ ἡμφιέσμεθα, εὐδηλον ὅτι καὶ τῆς υἰότητος αὐτοῦ κοινωνοί ἐσμεν. εἰ καὶ ἐκεῖνος μὲν τὸ γνήσιον, ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸ θέσει ἔχομεν.
3	28	139	λθ´	<b>πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἷς ἐστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ</b>
3	28	139	λθ´	τῷ ἓνα τύπον καὶ μίαν μορφήν ἐνδεδῦσθαι τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ μίαν ἔχειν κεφαλὴν αὐτὸν, καὶ πάντας εἰς ἓν σῶμα συντελεῖν. ἐν Χριστῷ, φησιν, Ἰησοῦ. δι´ αὐτὸν γὰρ τὸ εἶναι ἔχομεν, διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ τῆς χάριτος.
3	29	140	μ´	<b>εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ</b>
3	29	140	μ´	εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐστε Χριστοῦ μορφή καὶ σῶμα, φησὶν, εἰκότως τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ἐστε σπέρμα. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν ἔλεγεν ὅτι Χριστὸς σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ ἐστὶ τὸ κατὰ σάρκα αὐτῷ οὖν τὸ σπέρματι Ἀβραάμ ἐδόθησαν αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι, τουτέστι τῷ Χριστῷ, νῦν τὸ αὐτὸ ἀνακεφαλαιοῦται. εἰ ἐστέ, φησι, σῶμα Χριστοῦ, σπέρμα τέ ἐστε Ἀβραάμ καὶ κληρονόμοι τῆς τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ δοθείσης ἐπαγγελίας, ὁ Χριστὸς ἡμῖν, φησὶ, τούτων αἴτιος, ὁ σῶμα ἡμᾶς ἐαυτῷ ποιησάμενος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ εἰς σπέρμα τῷ Ἀβραάμ εἰσαγαγὼν, οὐ μὴν ὁ νόμος.
				CHAPTER 4
4	2	141	μα´	<b>ἄχρι τῆς προθεσμίας τοῦ πατρὸς</b>
4	2	141	μα´	τί γὰρ; ὅτι ὥριστο παρά τοῦ πατρὸς μηδὲν διοικεῖν, ἄχρι τῆς νόμιμης ἡλικίας. καλῶς δὲ ἤγαγε τὸ τοῦ νηπίου παράδειγμα. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος κύριος πάντων ὧν διὰ τὴν νηπιότητα κωλύεται ἐγκρατὴς εἶναι τῶν αὐτοῦ, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς, διὰ τὸ πάλαι εἶναι νήπιοι τὸν νοῦν, ἐκωλυόμεθα τῆς υἰοθεσίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἀξιωθῆναι.
4	2	142	μβ´	<b>νήπιοι</b>
4	2	142	μβ´	νήπιοι, φησὶν, οὐ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, ἀλλὰ τῇ γνώσει τοῦ θεοῦ, δεικνὺς ὅτι ὁ μὲν θεὸς ἤθελε ταῦτα ἐξ ἀρχῆς χαρίσασθαι, τουτέστι τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ἄλλ’ ἡμεῖς τῆς ἀναβολῆς αἴτιοι, νήπιοι ὄντες τὰς φρένας. εἰάθημεν οὖν κατὰ συγχώρησιν θεοῦ, δεδουλωσθαι τοῖς στοιχείοις, τουτέστι τῇ περιφορᾷ τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τῆς σελήνης. δεδουλωμένοι γὰρ Σάββασιν καὶ νεομηνίαις καὶ ἡμερῶν παρατηρήσεσιν, ἅτινα κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἐφυλάττετο, τῷ πλείστῳ μέρει, φησὶν, ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ ὑποτάγμεθα, ἐξ ὧν αἱ ἡμέραι, καὶ αἱ νομηνίαι καὶ τὰ Σάββατα. πάνυ δὲ βουλόμενος καταγαγεῖν τὰ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, ἀφείς εἰπεῖν, ὑπὸ τὸν νόμον ἦμεν δεδουλωμένοι, ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα εἶπεν.

4	2	142a	✗ Θεοδ	ήνικα, φησὶ, νήπιοι καὶ ἀτελεῖς ἤμεν, οἷόν τινα ἐπίτροπον καὶ οἰκονόμον εἵχομεν τὸν νόμον. στοιχεῖα γὰρ τοῦ κόσμου, τὰς νομικὰς παρατηρήσεις εἶπεν. ἐπειδὴ περ ἀπὸ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης νύξ καὶ ἡμέρα καλεῖται, ἀπὸ δὲ ἡμερῶν, ἐβδομάδες καὶ μῆνες καὶ ἐνιαυτοὶ συνίστανται, ὁ δὲ νόμος καὶ τὰ Σάββατα καὶ νουμηνίας καὶ ἐνιαυσίους ἐορτὰς καὶ ἐνιαυτῶν ἐβδομάδας φυλάττειν ἐκέλευσε, τούτου χάριν εἶπεν, ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα δεδουλωμένοι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκ τούτων ὁ χρόνος συνίσταται.
4	3	142b	✗	<b>τὰ στοιχεῖα</b>
4	3	142b	✗ Γεννα δ	ἐντάξει τῶν ἐπιτρόπων καὶ οἰκονόμων τῶν τοὺς ἀτελεῖς τῇ ἡλικίᾳ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον παιδαγωγούντων, ἔλαβε τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, οἷς ἤμεν δεδουλωμένοι διὰ τὸ τῆς γνώσεως ἀτελες. οὐκ ἂν οὖν, ὡς οἶμαι, ἡλιον καὶ σελήνην ἔλαβεν εἰς τάξιν τῶν ἐπιτρόπων, διὰ τὸ ἀσύμφορον εἶναι τὴν εἰς ταῦτα ὑποταγὴν, ἀλλὰ στοιχεῖα φησὶ τοῦ κόσμου, ἢ τὸν στοιχειώδη καὶ εἰσαγωγικὸν νόμον. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἐξ Ἰουδαίων πιστοῖς ἔγραφε, καὶ δηλοῖ τὰ τε μικρὸν ἀνωτέρω εἰρημένα, καὶ τὸ ἐὰν περιτέμνησθε, Χριστὸς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν ὠφελήσει. ἢ στοιχεῖα καλεῖ, ἡμέρας, ὕδωρ, πῦρ, ὧν ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ εἰς δουλείαν ὑπαγαγόντος νόμου αἱ παρατηρήσεις. ἡμερῶν μὲν, ἐν τε σαββάτοις καὶ νεομηνίαις καὶ περιτομαῖς. ὕδατος δὲ, ἐν ταῖς σωματικαῖς ἀγνεύαις καὶ βαπτισμοῖς. πυρὸς δὲ, ἐν τῷ μὴ ἀνακαίειν πῦρ ἐν τοῖς Σαββάτοις, ἀλλ' ἔωλα ἐσθίειν. ὅρα δὲ τί εἶπεν εἰς τοῦτο ξένον Εὐσέβιος ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ λόγῳ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς ἀποδείξεως.
4	4	143	μγ'	<b>ὅτε δὲ ἦλθε τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου</b>
4	4	143	μγ'	καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἔδει, φησὶν, ἐλθεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν. προώριστο γὰρ ὁ χρόνος τῆς ἐλεύσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρὰ Δανιὴλ τοῦ προφήτου, ὃς ἔλαβε τέλος ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Καίσαρος Αὐγούστου, ὅτε καὶ ἡ ἔνσαρκος οἰκονομία τοῦ Χριστοῦ μου ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε.
4	4	144	μδ'	<b>ἐκ γυναικός</b>
4	4	144	μδ'	διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ εἶπε διὰ γυναικὸς, ἵνα μὴ πάροδον διὰ τῆς θεοτόκου νομίσης γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐκ γυναικὸς, δεικνὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰληφότα τὸ σῶμα τὸν κύριον.
4	4	144a	✗	<b>γενόμενον</b>
4	4	144a	✗	οὕτω γὰρ ὑπὸ νόμον ἐγένετο, ὅτι καὶ περιετμήθη, ἵνα, φησὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον καὶ κατὰραν ὄντας ἐξαγοράσῃ, τῷ τε σταυρῷ, καὶ τῷ ὅλῳ ὑπὸ νόμον γενέσθαι.
4	5	145	με'	<b>ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἐξαγοράσῃ</b>
4	5	145	με'	οὐ μόνον γὰρ κακῶν ἀπήλλαξε, τῆς ἀρᾶς ἀπαλλάξας τοῦ νόμου, ἀλλὰ καὶ υἰοθεσίαν ἐ χάρις αὐτοῦ. εἰπὼν δὲ, ἀπολάβωμεν, ἔδειξεν αὐτὴν ἄνωθεν κεχρεωσθεμένην, ἡμᾶς δὲ μὴ δύνασθαι λαβεῖν, διὰ τὸ τῆς γνώμης νήπιον.
4	6	146	μζ'	<b>ὅτι δὲ ἐστε υἱοὶ</b>
4	6	146	μζ'	καὶ πόθεν, φησὶ, δηλονότι υἰοθεσίας ἡξιώμεθα; πόθεν; ἐκ τοῦ τῆς υἰοθεσίας πνεύματος, ὅπερ καταπεφοίτηκε, παρασκευάζον ἡμᾶς καὶ διδάσκον τοῦτο λέγει τὸ κρᾶζον, πατέρα τὸν θεὸν καλεῖν, ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν ἦν, εἰ μὴ υἰοθεσίας ἡξιώμεθα. καὶ λοιπὸν θάρσει, ὧ ἄνθρωπε, ὅτι οὐκ ἔτι ὑπάρχεις δοῦλος, ἀλλ' υἱὸς θεοῦ καὶ κληρονόμος αὐτοῦ. διὰ τοῦ φύσει υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ σαρκωθέντος καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον ὅλον φορέσαντος, οὐκ ἔτι εἶ δοῦλος καὶ ὑπὸ ζυγὸν τοῦ νόμου. πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἄτοπον τοὺς γενομένους υἱοὺς θεοῦ, διὰ τὴν Χριστοῦ καὶ διὰ



				πνεύματος, ἐπιστρέφειν πάλιν πρὸς τὸν νόμον;
4	6	146a	✗	<b>τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ</b>
4	6	146a	✗	Ὅτι κοινὸν πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα.
4	6	146b	✗	
4	6	146b	✗	καὶ ὅρα ἔμφασιν τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος. ὁ πατήρ ἀπέστειλεν, ὁ υἱὸς ἐσαρκώθη, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα συνήργησεν, ὃ καὶ εἰς τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν ἐπεισελθὼν, διδάσκει λέγειν, ἀββᾶ ὁ πατήρ.
4	7	147	μζ´	<b>διὰ Χριστοῦ</b>
4	7	147	μζ´	διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ αὐτοῦ.
4	8	148	μη´	<b>ἀλλὰ</b>
4	8	148	μη´	πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ Ἰουδαίων διαλέγεται, δεικνὺς ὡς τὸ ἡμέρας παρατηρεῖσθαι καὶ μῆνας καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἐνιαυτοὺς καὶ ὧν ἐν νόμῳ ἢ παρατήρησις, εἰδωλολατρείας ἐστίν. οὐδὲν γάρ, φησιν, ἕτερον τοῦτο, ἢ σελήνη καὶ ἡλίῳ προσκυνεῖν ἐξ ὧν αἱ ἡμέραι τὴν παρατήρησιν ἔχουσιν. ἐκ περιουσίας δὲ τοῦτο εἶπεν, ἀποστήσαι τοῦ νόμου θέλων. οἱ γὰρ τὴν περιτομὴν κηρύσσοντες, καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας συνεκέρυττον παρατηρήσεις.
4	9	149	μθ´	<b>μᾶλλον</b>
4	9	149	μθ´	οὐ γὰρ ὑμεῖς, φησὶν, οἰκείῳ πόνῳ τὸν θεὸν εὑρετε, ἀλλ´ αὐτὸς ἐν πλάνῃ διάγοντας, ἐπεσπάσατο.
4	9	150	ν´	<b>πῶς ἐπιστρέφετε πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα</b>
4	9	150	ν´	περὶ ἡλίου πάλιν καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἄστρον διαλέγεται, ἐξ ὧν αἱ τῶν ἡμερῶν παρατηρήσεις. πτωχὰ δὲ καὶ ἀσθενῆ αὐτὰ καλεῖ, ὡς μηδεμίαν ἰσχὺν ἔχοντα. πολλὴν δὲ τὸ, πάλιν, ἔμφασιν ἔχει· μετὰ τὴν υἰοθεσίαν, φησὶ, καὶ τὸ γνωσθῆναι ὑπὸ θεοῦ.
4	9	150a	✗	<b>τὰ ἀσθενῆ</b>
4	9	150a	τοῦ ἁγίου Κυ(ρίλ λου) ἐν βί(βλω ) στ´ τῆς ιε´ ἐν πνεύμ ατι λατρεῖ ας	στοιχεῖα κόσμου, τὰ μόρια τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου :~

4	9	150b	✗ Οίκου	ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ αὐτὰ καλεῖ, οὐ διὰ τὴν εὐτέλειαν αὐτῶν. τί γὰρ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς μεγαλοπρεπέστερον; τί δὲ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης τιμαλφέστερον καὶ ἄστρων; ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἐστερηῆσθαι νοῦ καὶ ζωῆς καὶ αἰσθήσεως.
4	10	151	να´	<b>ἡμέρας παρατηρεῖσθαι.</b>
4	10	151	να´	ἐκ τούτου δηλονότι, οὐ μόνον περιτομὴν ἐκήρυττον οἱ ψευδαπόστολοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων τὰς παρατηρήσεις, τὴν ἀρχὴν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου λαβόντες, παρεκτραπέντες δὲ καὶ τοῦ νόμου.
4	11	152	νβ´	<b>φοβοῦμαι</b>
4	11	152	νβ´	ὄρα σπλάγχνα, ἐκεῖνοι σαλεύονται, καὶ Παῦλος φοβεῖται. τὸ δὲ, μήπως, δηλοῖ ἔτι ἐστῶτας καὶ μήπω τέλεον ναυαγήσαντας. καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς ἐλπίδα, ὅτι εἰ θελήσουσιν ἀνανῆσαι, οὐκ εἰκεῖ ὁ εἰς αὐτοὺς γένηται κόπος. ὥσει ἔλεγε, μνήσθητέ μου τῶν εἰς ὑμᾶς κόπον καὶ ἰδρώτων, καὶ μὴ ματαιώσητέ μου τὸν πόνον,
4	12	153	νγ´	<b>γίνεσθε ὡς ἐγώ</b>
4	12	153	νγ´	ἔτι πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ Ἰουδαίων ὁ λόγος. γίνεσθε ὡς ἐγώ. μιμηταί μου, φησὶ, γίνεσθε, ὅτι καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν νόμον ἐάσας, τῇ πίστει προσέδραμον. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐγώ, φησιν, ὡς ὑμεῖς ἤμην, τηρῶν καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ τὸν νόμον ποιούμενος.
4	12	153a	✗	<b>ὅτι κἀγὼ ὡς ὑμεῖς</b>
4	12	153a	✗	σφόδρα τὸν νόμον κἀγὼ ἐπόθουν, ἀλλ’ ὁρᾶτε πῶς μεταβέβλημαι. ταύτην καὶ ὑμεῖς, φησὶ, ζηλώσατε τὴν μεταβολὴν.
4	12	154	νδ´	<b>ἀδελφοί</b>
4	12	154	νδ´	παρακαλεῖ αὐτοὺς, οἰκείαν τὴν ἐκεῖνων σωτηρίαν ἠγούμενος. διεξέρχεται δὲ αὐτῶν εὐχαριστίας, καὶ ἃς ἐτίμησαν αὐτὸν τιμὰς, καὶ ὡς περὶ πολλοῦ αὐτὸν ἔσχον, τοῦτο βουλόμενος κατασκευάσαι, ὅτι αἱ κατ’ αὐτῶν λεχθεῖσαι νῦν λειδοῦνται παρ’ αὐτοῦ, οὐκ ἐλέχθησαν κατὰ ἀπέχθειαν τινὰ ἢ ἔχθραν, πῶς γὰρ ἄν, φησιν, ἀπεχθῶς εἶχον πρὸς ὑμᾶς, περὶ πολλοῦ πεποιημένους; ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὰ λεχθέντα κηδομένου καὶ ἀγαπῶντος ἦν.
4	13	155	νε´	<b>δι’ ἀσθένειαν</b>
4	13	155	νε´	οἷον μετὰ ἀσθενείας σαρκικῆς, τουτέστι, μετὰ δεσμῶν καὶ πληγῶν καὶ φυλακῶν, ἅπερ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντιουμένων τῷ κηρύγματι ὑπέμενον.
4	13	156	νς´	<b>εὐηγγελισάμην</b>
4	13	156	νς´	τί λέγω, φησὶν, οὐκ ἡδίκησατέ με; πολλὴν οὖν τιμὴν εἰς ἐμὲ ἐνεδείξασθε. καὶ γὰρ μαστιζόμενος καὶ διωκόμενος, ταῦτα γὰρ φησιν ἀσθένειαν σαρκός, εὐηγγελιζόμεν ὑμῖν. καὶ ὅμως ταῦτα με ὀρῶντες πάσχοντα, οὔτε ἐσκανδαλίσθητε εἰς ἐμὲ, οὔτε διεπτύσατέ με. τὸν γὰρ πειρασμόν μου, φησὶ, τὸν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ μου, οὐκ ἐξουδενώσατε, πειρασμόν πάλιν καλῶν, τὰς πληγὰς, τὰς φυλακάς, τοὺς διωγμούς.
4	14	156a	✗	<b>ἐξεπτύσατε</b>
4	14	156a	✗	Οὐδὲ ἐπτύσατε φησὶ· ὀρῶντες με τοιαῦτα πάσχοντα.
4	14	157	νζ´	<b>ἀλλ’ ὡς ἄγγελον θεοῦ</b>
4	14	157	νζ´	πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἄλογον, φησὶ, διωκόμενον καὶ ἐλαυνόμενον, δεδέχθαι παρ’ ὑμῶν ὡς ἄγγελον καὶ ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν κύριον συμβουλευόντα δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν παραινοῦντα, διαπτύεσθαι;

4	15	158	νη´	<b>μακαρισμός</b>
4	15	158	νη´	τίς ἦν, φησιν, ὁ μακαρισμός ὑμῶν, ὃν ἐγώ τε καὶ ἕτεροι πολλοὶ ἐμακάριζον ὑμᾶς, ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπακοῇ καὶ τῇ ὑποταγῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου; τίς οὖν ἦν, φησι; νῦν γὰρ οὐχ ὁρῶ αὐτόν.
4	15	158a	✗	<b>τίς οὖν ἦν</b>
4	15	158a	✗	ποῦ, φησὶ, τὰ ζηλωτὰ τῆς πίστεως κατορθώματα; τὸ γὰρ τίς, ἀντὶ τοῦ, ποῦ, τέθεικεν.
4	15	159	νθ´	<b>μαρτυρῶ</b>
4	15	159	νθ´	οἶδα, φησὶν, ὅτι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὑμῶν τιμιώτερόν με ἡγεῖσθε διὰ τὸ κήρυγμα πάλαι.
4	15	159a	Φωτ	τίς ἦν, οὐκ ἐρωτῶντος ἐστὶν, ἀλλ´ οἷον θαυμάζοντος καὶ ἐπαίροντος τὴν τότε πίστιν αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ μακαρισμόν. τίς ἦν. ἡλίκος ἦν, φησι, θαυμαστός. ἡλίκου μακαρισμοῦ ἐξεπέσατε. ἢ κατ´ ἐρώτησιν. τίς ἦν. ἀναμεμνήσθητέ φησι, τίς ἦν ὁ μακαρισμός ὑμῶν. λίαν γὰρ ἐμακάριζον. νῦν δὲ τί; ἐλέγχω. διὰ τοῦτο μισοῦμαι. διὰ τί δὲ ἐλέγχω; διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν ὑμῶν.
	15	159b	Οικ	ἐπεὶ εἰ μὴ τοῦτο ἦν, πῶς ἂν μὴ δὲ μίαν ἄλλην παρασχόντων πρόφασιν ὑμῶν, ὁ ἐπαινῶν καὶ μακαρίζων εἰς τὸ ψέγειν ἦλθον;
4	16	160	ξ´	<b>ἐχθρός</b>
4	16	160	ξ´	ἄλλην, φησὶν, οὐκ οἶδα ἐχθρας αἰτίαν, ἢ ὅτι τὰ ἀληθῆ ὑμῖν καὶ πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἄγοντα παραδίδωμι δόγματα, δι´ ἃ καὶ ἐπαυξῆσαι ὑμᾶς ἔδει τὴν πρὸς με ἀγάπην.
4	17	160a	✗	<b>ζηλοῦσιν</b>
4	17	160a	✗	οὐκ ἐπ´ ἀγαθῷ, φησὶ, τὴν αὐτὴν ὑμῖν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν ἀσπάζονται, ἀλλ´ ἵνα ὑμᾶς ταύτης ἐκκλείσαντες ἑαυτοῖς ἀναπείσωσιν ἔπεσθαι ὅτι πρὸς ὑμετέραν ἀπάτην τὸ τοιοῦτον αὐτοῖς μεμηχάνηται.
4	17	161	ξα´	<b>οὐ καλῶς</b>
4	17	161	ξα´	ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ζῆλος καλός, ὅταν τις οὕτω ζηλοῖ, ὥστε μιμήσασθαι τὴν ἀρετὴν. ἔστι καὶ ζῆλος κακός, ὅταν τις οὕτω ζηλοῖ, ὥς ἐκβαλεῖν τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν ἐνἄρετον.
4	17	162	ξβ´	<b>ἀλλὰ ἐκκλεῖσαι ὑμᾶς θέλουσιν</b>
4	17	162	ξβ´	ἀποκλεῖσαι ὑμᾶς, φησιν, καὶ ἀπαγαγεῖν τῆς ἀληθοῦς γνώσεως θέλουσιν, ἵνα λοιπὸν αὐτοὶ ὑμῶν γενόμενοι διδάσκαλοι, πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν ζῆλον καὶ τὴν μίμησιν ἀγάγωσιν ὑμᾶς. διὰ τοῦτο ἀπάγουσι μὲν ὑμᾶς τῆς ἀληθοῦς γνώσεως, φέρουσι δὲ πρὸς τὸν νόμον.
4	18	163	ξγ´	<b>καλὸν</b>
4	18	163	ξγ´	βούλεται δεῖξαι ὅτι οὗτοι οἱ νῦν ἀνατρέποντες αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῦ νόμου ἔχουσιν παραπείθοντες καὶ ἐκ τούτου παρασκευάζοντες αὐτοὺς ζηλωτὰς καὶ μιμητὰς αὐτῶν γενέσθαι, ἐξήλουν αὐτοὺς πάλαι ἐν τῇ γνώσει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ὅτε παρὼν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ Παῦλος ἐδίδασκε. καλὸν οὖν ἐστὶ, φησὶ, τὸ μὴ μόνον ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ μου, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντοτε ἐπὶ καλῷ ζηλοῦσθαι. δείκνυσι δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἀπατηθέντας.
4	19	164	ξδ´	<b>τεκνία μου</b>
4	19	164	ξδ´	εἰ καὶ διεφθείρατέ, φησι, τὴν μορφήν τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν ἐφ´ ὑμῖν; ὅμως ἔτι τεκνία μου ἐστέ. τεκνία δέ, φησι, τὰ μικρὰ καὶ ἔτι ἀγέννητα· ἢ ἀμβλωθέντα βρέφη, καὶ γεννήσεως ἐνδεᾶ. διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ εἶπε τέκνα, ἀλλὰ τεκνία μου.

4	19	165	ξε´	<b>ἄχρις οὗ μορφώθη Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν</b>
4	19	165	ξε´	διεφθείρατέ, φησι, τὴν ἐφ' ὑμῖν εἰκόνα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἣν ἦτε ἐνδεδυμένοι διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος. ὅσοι γὰρ εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε, Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε, καὶ τὴν μορφήν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ εἶναι αὐτοῦ μέλη ἀπωλέσατε. χρειὰ οὖν ἐτέρας γεννήσεως, τῆς πάλιν ἐντυπούσης ὑμῖν τὴν θεῖαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ μορφήν. τί οὖν; πάλιν ὑμᾶς ὠδίνω διὰ τῆς διδαχῆς. πάλιν γεννῶ, διὰ τῆς κατηχήσεως, ἕως ἂν ἐντυπωθῆτε πάλιν τὴν θεῖαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ μορφήν. ἄρα τί λέγουσι πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Ναυατιανοί; Ἴδου γὰρ φανερώς πιστοῖς γράφων ταῦτα.
4	19	165a	ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις Κύριλ- λος ἐν βιβλίῳ γ' τῶν Παραλ- ειπομέ- νων τῆς ἐν πν(εὺμ- ατ)ι καὶ ἀληθεί- ᾳ πραγμ- ατείας, φη(σι)	οὓς ὠδίνω, ἄχρις ἂν οἱ μεγάλοι καὶ ὑπερφυεῖς τῆς θεότητος τοῦ Χριστοῦ χαρακτηρῶνται, εἰς τὸν ὑμέτερον διαπλασθῶσι νοῦν.
4	20	166	ξστ´	<b>ἤθελον δὲ παρεῖναι</b>
4	20	166	ξστ´	ὄρα ἀγάπην. οὐκ ἄρκοῦμαι, φησὶ, τοῖς γράμμασι, παρεῖναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐξήτουν, καὶ ἀνταλλάξαι θρήνοις καὶ ὀλοφυρμοῖς τὴν διὰ ῥημάτων διδασκαλίαν, ἵνα, φησὶ, μετὰ θρήνων ὑμᾶς ἐδίδαξα. καὶ γὰρ ἀπορῶ τί εἶπω περὶ ὑμῶν. πόθεν οὕτως οἱ ὑψωθέντες τῇ γνώσει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου κατεβλήθητε καὶ περισύρεσθε χαμαὶ, πάλιν ἐχόμενοι τοῦ νόμου;
4	20	166a	✗	<b>καὶ ἀλλάξαι τὴν φωνήν μου</b>
4	20	166a	✗	τῶν μὲν, τὴν ἐκτροπὴν θρηνηῖσαι, τῶν δὲ, τὸ βέβαιον θαυμάσαι.
4	21	167	ξζ´	<b>λέγετέ μοι οἱ ὑπὸ νόμον</b>
4	21	167	ξζ´	ἀποκρίθητέ μοι, φησὶν, οἱ θέλοντες ὑπὸ τὸν νόμον εἶναι. καλῶς δὲ τὸ, θέλοντες. τῆς γὰρ αὐτῶν ἦν ἀκαίρου φιλονεικίας τὸ πρᾶγμα.
4	22	168	ξη´	<b>ὅτι Ἀβραὰμ</b>
4	22	168	ξη´	τί, φησὶ, λέγει περὶ ἑαυτοῦ; καὶ λοιπὸν τῆς γενέσεως φέρει μαρτυρίαν. ἔθος γὰρ αὐτῷ πᾶσαν τὴν παλαιάν, νόμον καλεῖν.
4	22	168a		
4	22	168a		τὸν νόμον οὐκ ἀκούετε; Ἦγουν τῆς γενέσεως τὴν βίβλον;
4	22	169	ξθ´	<b>δύο υἱοὺς ἔσχεν</b>

4	22	169	ξθ´	καὶ ὥραϊόν τι κατασκευάζει. εἰ βούλεσθε, φησὶ, τοῦ νόμου ἔχεσθαι, ἀπόσπῃτε τοῦ νόμου. οὕτω γὰρ αὐτῷ πεισθήσεσθε. τοῦτο πῶς; ὁ νόμος, φησὶν, αὐτὸς, εἶπερ ἴστε τὰ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, συμβουλεύει ἀφίστασθαι αὐτοῦ. εἰ τοίνυν πείθεσθε αὐτῷ ἀπόσπῃτε αὐτοῦ. ὅρα δὲ τὴν κατασκευὴν.
4	22	170	ο´	<b>ἓνα ἐκ τῆς παιδείκης καὶ ἓνα ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας</b>
4	22	170	ο´	δεῖξαι βούλεται τοὺς διὰ τὴν σαρκικὴν συγγένειαν ὄντας σπέρμα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, τουτέστι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, κατὰ σάρκα εἶναι συγγενεῖς, τοὺς δὲ διὰ πίστεως εἰς σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ εἰσαγομένους, τουτέστι τοὺς χριστιανούς, κατὰ ἐπαγγελίαν εἶναι σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ. ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε, φησὶν, ἐξεβλήθη ὁ κατὰ σάρκα υἱὸς Ἰσμαὴλ, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν οἱ κατὰ σάρκα συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ Ἰουδαῖοι. τὸν δὲ κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν υἱὸν τὸν Ἰσαάκ, ἔσω μείναντα λέγει, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν, φησὶν, οἱ κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν συγγενεῖς, οἱ χριστιανοί. ὁρᾷς ὅτι ὁ νόμος οἶδεν ἐκβολὴν τῶν αὐτῷ μόνῳ στοιχούντων, τουτέστι τῶν Ἰουδαίων;
4	23	171	οα´	<b>κατὰ σάρκα γεγέννηται</b>
4	23	171	οα´	εἰκότως τὸν μὲν Ἰσμαὴλ, κατὰ σάρκα λέγει. νόμῳ γὰρ φύσεως σαρκὸς γεγέννηται. ὁ γὰρ Ἰσαάκ, οὐ νόμῳ σαρκὸς. πῶς γὰρ γεννήσειεν ὁ ἑκατονταετής, ἀλλὰ διὰ μόνης τῆς ἐπαγγελίας;
4	23	171a	ΦΩΤ ✕	<b>Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῆς παιδείκης:</b> μὴ οὖν τὸ κατὰ σάρκα εἶναι ὑμᾶς συγγενεῖς τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, τοῦτο φυσιοῦτω, καὶ πειθέτω, ὅτι εἰ μὴ γένησθε τέκνα κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, τουτέστι μέλη καὶ σύσσωμοι Χριστοῦ, οὗτος γὰρ ἐξ ἐπαγγελίας σπέρμα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, ἔξω ἐστὲ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας.
4	24	172	οβ´	<b>ἄτινά</b>
4	24	172	οβ´	τουτέστι, τύποι ἦσαν τῶν μελλουσῶν διαθηκῶν αἱ γενήσεις τῶν δύο τοῦτων παιδίων. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰ ὀρώμενα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕτερα ὑπαγορεύουσιν οἱ τόκοι.
4	24	172a	✕	<b>ἀλληγορούμενα</b>
4	24	172a	✕	ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐτέρως νοούμενα. οὐ γὰρ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἀνεῖλεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ προτυπωθέντα διδάσκει. ἐπάγει γὰρ.
4	24	173	ογ´	<b>ἀπὸ ὅρου Σινᾶ· εἰς δουλείαν γεννῶσα</b>
4	24	173	ογ´	Ὅτι τὸ Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ μεν ἔστι. ἐκεῖ δὲ ὁ νόμος ἐδόθη τῷ Μωσεῖ. γειτνιάζει δὲ τῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ. ὅπερ αὐτὸ τὸ Σινᾶ ὄρος, τῇ τῶν Ἀράβων γλώσσῃ, Ἄγαρ καλεῖται. καί, φησὶν, οὕτως· ἡ Ἄγαρ καὶ ἡ Σάρρα, τύποι ἦσαν τῶν δύο διαθηκῶν. ἡ μὲν παιδείκη τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης, τῷ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν διαθήκην δούλους τοῦ νόμου γεννᾷ. ἡ δὲ ἐλευθέρᾳ τύπος τῆς νέας διαθήκης, τῷ ἐλευθέρους ἀπὸ τοῦ ζυγοῦ τοῦ νόμου τίκτειν. ὅτι, φησὶ, τὸ Σινᾶ ὄρος ἔνθα ὁ νόμος ἐδόθη, γειτνιάζει μὲν τῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ, τῇ δὲ τῶν Ἀράβων γλώσσῃ ὁμώνυμόν ἐστι τῇ Ἄγαρ τῇ δούλῃ, Ἄγαρ καὶ αὐτὸ προσαγορευόμενον, ὥς εἶναι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος, τὸν τύπον ἐγγὺς τῆς ἀληθείας γινόμενον.
4	24	174	οδ´	<b>εἰς δουλείαν γεννῶσα</b>
4	24	174	οδ´	Εἰς δουλείαν τὴν τοῦ νόμου.
4	25	175	οε´	<b>γὰρ</b>
4	25	175	οε´	Ἦτις, φησὶ, διαθήκη τὴν Ἄγαρ ἔχει τύπον. καὶ οὕτως. ὅτι τὸ Σινᾶ ὄρος τῇ τῶν Ἀράβων γλώσσῃ Ἄγαρ καλεῖται.
4	25	176	ος´	<b>συστοιχεῖ</b>

4	25	176	οζ´	τουτέστιν ἄπτεται, γειτνιάζει.
4	25	177	οζ´	<b>δουλεύει</b>
4	25	177	οζ´	αὕτη, φησὶν, ἡ διαθήκη ἡ παλαιὰ ἢ ἐν τῷ Σινᾷ ὄρει δοθεῖσα, δουλεύει μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, δουλεύει δὲ τῷ νόμῳ.
4	26	178	οη´	<b>ἐλευθέρα</b>
4	26	178	οη´	ὁ μὲν τύπος τῆς Ἄγαρ, ἐν τούτοις, ἰδοὺ καὶ ὁ τύπος τῆς Σάρρας. τύπος δὲ αὐτῆς ἡ ἄνω Ἰερουσαλὴμ, τουτέστιν ἡ ἐπ’ οὐράνιος. ἐκείνη γὰρ ἡ πόλις τῶν πιστῶν ἐλευθέρα ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ παρατηρήσεων. καὶ ἐστὶν ἡμῶν μήτηρ, φησὶν. ὥστε ἡ μὲν Ἄγαρ, τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πληροὶ τὸν τύπον. ἡ δὲ Σάρρα, τῆς νέας καὶ ἡμῶν. ἄνω δὲ Ἰερουσαλὴμ, καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκάλεσε.
4	25	178a		<b>συστοιχεῖ τῇ νῦν Ἰερουσαλὴμ</b>
4	25	178a	Φωτ	συστοιχεῖ δὲ τῇ νῦν Ἰερουσαλὴμ: οἷον τῇ ἐνταῦθα τῇ ἐπὶ γῆς. ὥστε τῆς ἄνω καὶ ἐλευθέρας, ἅμφω διεστήκασιν.
4	25	178b		
4	25	178b	Ἰωάννου	Αὕτη, φησὶν, οὐχ ὑπόκειται νόμῳ· τούτη γὰρ ἐλευθέρα ἐστὶν.
4	27	179	οθ´	<b>γέγραπται γὰρ</b>
4	27	179	οθ´	καὶ οὕτως, φησὶν, ἡ Σάρρα τύπος ἦν τῆς ἄνω Ἰερουσαλὴμ, τουτέστι ἐκκλησίας, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴ στεῖρα οὖσα καὶ ἄπαις, ὡς ἡ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἐκκλησία ποτὲ, ἐνίκησεν ἐν τῷ σπέρματι τὴν Ἄγαρ, καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐνίκησε τὴν συναγωγὴν. καὶ μάρτυς τούτων Ἡσαΐας.
4	27	180	π´	<b>οὐ τίκτουςα</b>
4	27	180	π´	τῇ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁ Ἡσαΐας ἐγκελεύεται, ἐπὶ εὐφροσύνῃ βοῆσαι. ῥῆξον δὲ, ἢ τὴν στείρωσιν εἰς τοκετόν, ἢ φωνὴν εὐφροσύνης ῥῆξον.
4	27	181	πα´	<b>ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου</b>
4	27	181	πα´	ἐρημον καὶ στεῖραν καλεῖ, τὴν ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἐκκλησίαν. καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἔρημος ἀγαθοῦ παντὸς, πρὶν πιστεῦειν Χριστῷ.
4	27	182	πβ´	<b>ἡ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα</b>
4	27	182	πβ´	ἔχουσιν ἄνδρα, τὸν οἷον διευθύνοντα καὶ προνοοῦντα καλεῖ, τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἡ ὡς ἔχουσιν τὸν νόμον, ἡ ὡς ἔχουσιν πάλαι τὴν ὑποψίαν θεοῦ.
4	28	183	πγ´	<b>ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀδελφοὶ, κατὰ Ἰσαὰκ</b>
4	28	183	πγ´	οὐ γὰρ μόνον στεῖρα ἦν ἡ ἐκκλησία, ὥσπερ Σάρρα, οὐδὲ μόνον πολὺπαις ἐγένετο ὡς ἐκείνη, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτως ἐγέννησεν. οὔτε γὰρ ἡ Σάρρα νόμῳ φύσεως ἐγέννησεν, ἀλλὰ χάριτι θεῖα. οὔτε ἡ ἐκκλησία νόμῳ φύσεως γεννᾷ ἐν τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ, ἀλλὰ χάριτι θεῖα. ὁρᾷς τὸν τύπον πῶς κατὰ πάντα ὁμοφωνεῖ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ;
4	28	183a		<b>κατὰ Ἰσαὰκ</b>
4	28	183a	ΘΕΟΔ ✕	οὐ γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ χάριν ἐτέχθημεν, ὡς Ἰσαὰκ διὰ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας. μηδὲ τοῦτο ἡμᾶς ἀνιάτω, τὸ τοὺς πεπιστευκότας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπίστων ἐλαύνεσθαι. τοιοῦτον γὰρ τι καὶ ἐν τῷ τύπῳ εὐρίσκομεν, ἴσχυσεν δὲ οὐδαμῶς.
4	28	184	πδ´	<b>κατὰ Ἰσαὰκ</b>

4	28	184	πδ´	κατὰ μίμησιν, φησι, τοῦ Ἰσαὰκ ἐξ ἐπαγγελίας ἐσμέν γεννηθέντες. ὥστε τῆς ἐλευθέρας ὄντες, οὐκ ὀφείλομεν νόμῳ Μωσέως δουλεύειν.
4	29	185	πε´	<b>ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τότε ὁ κατὰ σάρκα γεννηθεὶς</b>
4	29	185	πε´	καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ διώκεσθαι τοὺς πιστοὺς ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων, τότε γὰρ ἐδιώκοντο, δείκνυσιν τὸν τύπον ἀληθεύοντα. καὶ γὰρ Ἰσμαὴλ ὁ κατὰ σάρκα γεννηθεὶς, ἐδίωκε τὸν Ἰσαὰκ τὸν κατὰ πνεῦμα καὶ ἐπαγγελίαν τεχθέντα.
4	30	186	πζ´	<b>ἀλλὰ τί λέγει ἡ γραφή;</b>
4	30	186	πζ´	ἀνωτέρω ἔνθα τὸ κεφάλαιον ἡρμηνεύετο, τὸ, λέγετέ μοι οἱ ὑπὸ νόμον θέλοντες εἶναι, τὸν νόμον οὐκ ἀκούετε, εἵπομεν τοῦτο κατασκευάζειν τὸν Παῦλον, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ νόμος, τουτέστιν ἡ παλαιὰ προηγόρευσε δεῖν ἔαν τὸν νόμον καὶ τὸν Ἰουδαϊσμόν, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀποδέδεικται. ὁπότε γὰρ ἡ μὲν Ἄγαρ τύπος ἦν τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τοῦ πάλαι νόμου, ἡ δὲ Σάρρα καὶ ὁ Ἰσαὰκ τῶν πιστῶν καὶ τῆς νέας διαθήκης, ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ παλαιᾷ ἐκβεβλήται ἡ Ἄγαρ καὶ ὁ Ἰσμαὴλ, ἐκβαλε γάρ, φησι, τὴν παιδίσκη καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς, δηλονότι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ παλαιᾷ προεζωγραφεῖτο ἡ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκβολή. ὁρᾷς ὅτι οὐ δεῖ τοῦ νόμου ἔχεσθαι; διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῷ πεποιοῦντας ἐκβεβλήσθαι; Ἴδοὺ οὖν καὶ αὐτῇ ἡ παλαιὰ τῇ δυνάμει συνεβούλευσε μὴ ἔχεσθαι τοῦ νόμου, τῷ ἐκβαλεῖν τοὺς τούτῳ μόνῳ στοιχοῦντας, τουτέστι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους. εἰ γὰρ εἰς αἰὶ ἐχρῆν στοιχεῖν τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τῇ παλαιᾷ, οὐκ ἂν ἐξεβλήθη μὲν ἡ Ἄγαρ καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτῆς, οἳ ἦσαν τύπος τῶν Ἰουδαίων. μόνος δὲ ἐκληρονόμησεν Ἰσαὰκ, ὃς ἦν τύπος τῷ Χριστῷ πεπιστευκότων. καὶ πάλιν. οὐ διὰ τὸ διώκειν μόνον ἐκβεβλήται, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ μὴ γένηται κοινωνὸς τῆς κληρονομίας.
4	31	187	πζ´	<b>ἄρα ἀδελφοὶ</b>
4	31	187	πζ´	εἰ τοίνυν οὐκ ἐσμέν παιδίσκης τέκνα, οὐδὲ δοῦλοι, πῶς τῇ δουλείᾳ τοῦ νόμου ἑαυτοὺς ὑποβάλλομεν; οὐκ ἐσμέν δὲ, ἐπεὶ μήτε ἡμῶν τύπος ἡ Ἄγαρ, ἀλλ' Ἰουδαίων. ἡμῶν γὰρ ἡ Σάρρα τύπος.
5	1	188	πη´	<b>τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ οὖν ἢ Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἠλευθέρωσεν</b>
5	1	188	πη´	ὁ νόμος κατεδούλου, ὁ Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἠλευθέρωσεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου. δεῖ οὖν, φησὶν, ἐστάναι ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ δοθείσῃ ἐλευθερίᾳ. τὸ δὲ, στήκετε, σαλευομένους δηλοῖ.
5	1	189	πθ´	<b>καὶ μὴ πάλιν ζυγῷ</b>
5	1	189	πθ´	τὸ, πάλιν, ἀναισθησίαν αὐτῶν δηλοῖ. ζυγὸν δὲ εἰπὼν, τὸ βαρὺ τῆς δουλείας δείκνυσιν τοῦ νόμου.
5	2	190	χι´	<b>Ἴδε ἐγὼ Παῦλος</b>
5	2	190	χι´	τῇ ἀξιοπιστίᾳ τοῦ ὀνόματος, ἀντὶ πάσης ἀποδείξεως ἐχρήσατο.
5	2	191	χια´	<b>Χριστὸς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν ὠφελήσει</b>
5	2	191	χια´	διὰ τί; ὅτι ὁ περιτεμνόμενος, δῆλον ὡς τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριν ἐξουθενεῖ, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ νόμου σώζεσθαι πιστεύει. τὸν οὖν μὴ πιστεύοντα Χριστῷ οὔτε αὐτὸς ἔλοιτο ὠφελῆσαι.
5	3	192	χιβ´	<b>ὅτι ὀφειλέτης ἐστὶν ὅλον τὸν νόμον ποιῆσαι</b>
5	3	192	χιβ´	πρὸς τὸ μηκέτι, φησι, μηδὲν παρὰ Χριστοῦ ὠφελεῖσθαι, ὅπερ χαλεπώτερον μυρίων γεενῶν. καὶ βάρος ἀνωφελὲς ἑαυτοῖς οἱ τοιοῦτοι περιτιθέασιν. ὁ γὰρ κατὰ ἓν τι τὸν νόμον τηρῶν, ἀνάγκην ἔξει κατὰ πάντα τηρεῖν αὐτὸν, ἐπεὶ πάντα οἰχήσεται. τί δὲ βαρύτερον τῶν νόμικῶν παρατηρήσεων;

5	4	193	ηγ´	<b>κατηργήθητε ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ</b>
5	4	193	ηγ´	ἀπεκόπητε, ἀπεπέσετε ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ, ἀνωφελῇ ὑμῖν λοιπὸν τὰ κατὰ τὸν Χριστὸν. πάντα καὶ τὴν χάριν αὐτοῦ.
5	4	194	ηδ´	<b>οἵτινες ἐν νόμῳ δικαιοῦσθε</b>
5	4	194	ηδ´	ἀντὶ τοῦ, δικαιοῦσθαι σπεύδετε, ὥσει ἔλεγεν. οἵτινες σπουδάζετε ἐκ νόμου δικαιοῦσθαι, τῆς χάριτος ἐξεπέσατε, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου οὐ δικαιοθήσεσθε.
5	5	195	ηε´	<b>ἡμεῖς γὰρ πνεύματι</b>
5	5	195	ηε´	ἡμεῖς γὰρ οἱ πιστοὶ φησὶ. οὐκ ἐκ νόμου σώζεσθαι προσδοκῶμεν. ἀλλὰ δι’ ἐπιφοιτήσεως πνεύματος ἁγίου ἐλπίδα δικαιοσύνης ἀπεκδεχόμεθα· ἐν χάριτος μέρει τὸ σώζεσθαι προσδοκῶντες· καλῶς δὲ κεῖται τὸ ἐκ πίστεως· δεῖ γὰρ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἡγεῖσθαι πίστιν καὶ οὕτως τὴν διὰ πνεύματος λαμβάνειν δικαίωσιν :-,
5	6	196	ης´	<b>περιτομή</b>
5	6	196	ης´	περιτομὴν λέγει, οὐ τὴν πρὸ τῆς πίστεως οὔσαν, ὥσει ἔλεγεν. οἱ ἀπογραφόμενοι ἐν τῇ νέᾳ διαθήκῃ, οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς ἀκροβυστίας περιβλαβήσονται, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἐκ τῆς περιτομῆς ὠφεληθήσονται.
5	6	197	ηζ´	<b>ἀλλὰ πίστις</b>
5	6	197	ηζ´	οὐκ ἄρκει γὰρ μόνον τὸ πιστεῦσαι τῷ Χριστῷ, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τὴν πίστιν ταύτην ἐνεργεῖσθαι καὶ διαφυλάττεσθαι καὶ οἷον ἀναζωπυρεῖσθαι διὰ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν ἀγάπης. αἰνίττεται δὲ, ὅτι πιστεύσαντες μὲν, μὴ ἀγαπήσαντες δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν, πρὸς τὸν νόμον ἡτομόλησαν.
5	7	198	ηη´	<b>τίς ὑμᾶς ἐνέκοψε</b>
5	7	198	ηη´	τὸ τίς, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐρωτῶντος, ἀλλ’ ὀλοφυρομένου, ὥσει εἶπεν· ἦτε εἰς τελειότητα φθάσαντες, τί γέγονε; τίς τοσοῦτον ἴσχυσεν ὥστε ἐμποδίσαι ὑμῖν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου μὴ πείθεσθαι;
5	8	199	ηθ´	<b>πεισμονή</b>
5	8	199	ηθ´	ἡ πεισμονή τουτέστι τὸ πεισθῆναι τοῖς λέγουσιν ὑμῖν περιτέμνεσθαι. οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ καλοῦντος ὑμᾶς πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ πίστιν ὥσει ἔλεγεν. οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ κέκλησθε παρὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὥστε τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα συμβουλευούσι πείθεσθαι.
5	8	199a	∕	ἴδιον γὰρ θεοῦ τὸ καλεῖν, τὸ δὲ πείθεσθαι τῶν ἀκουόντων.
5	9	200	ρ´	<b>μικρὰ ζύμη</b>
5	9	200	ρ´	ἵνα μὴ λέγωσι· τί τοσοῦτον ἡμῶν καθήψω· μίαν ἐντολὴν μόνον τοῦ νόμου φυλαξάντων. φησὶ, μίαν· καὶ τί τοῦτο· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκείνη ὅλον τὸ φύραμα κινῶ, φησὶν, οὕτως καὶ ὑμᾶς ἡ περιτομή εἰς τέλειον ἐνεγκεῖν μέλλει ἰουδαϊσμόν, ἐὰν μὴ διορθώσῃσθε. ἐγὼ πέποιθα εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν κυρίῳ· θαρρῶ ὑμῖν, φησὶν, θαρρῶ ἐν κυρίῳ ὅτι διορθώσεσθε, καὶ οὐδὲν φρονήσετε παρὰ τὴν διδασχὴν μου· τοῦτο δὲ παραθαρρύνοντος :-,
5	10	201	α´	<b>ὁ δὲ ταρασσὼν ὑμᾶς</b>
5	10	201	α´	ὑμεῖς μὲν μεταβαλεῖσθε, ὅμως οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο οἱ εἰς τοῦτο ὑμᾶς ἀγαγόντες, ἐλευθερωθεῖεν τῆς τιμωρίας, ἀλλὰ βαστάσουσι καὶ ὑποίσουσιν τὸ κατάκριμα τοῦτο.
5	11	202	β´	<b>ἐγὼ δὲ, ἀδελφοί, εἰ περιτομὴν ἔτι κηρύσσω</b>
5	11	202	β´	ἐπειδὴ λαιδοροῦντες αὐτὸν ἔλεγον, ὑποκριτὴς ἐστίν, ἀλλαχοῦ μὲν περιτομὴν κηρύττει, ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ οὐ, φησὶν, ὅτι διώκομαι ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἴστε. εἰ οὖν περιτομὴν κηρύσσω, περιττόν τὸ διώκεσθαι με.



5	11	202a	Ἀντίθεσις	τί οὖν; οὐ περιέτεμε τὸν Τιμόθεον; ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν φαμὲν κατὰ οἰκονομίαν, ἵνα εὐπαράδεκτος γένηται Ἰουδαίοις. ὅρα δὲ. οὐκ εἶπεν, εἰ περιτομὴν εἰργασάμην, ἀλλ' εἰ κηρύσσω. μὴ γάρ, φησι, τὸ κατ' οἰκονομίαν γενόμενον, εἰς δόγμα λάβης.
5	11	203	γ'	<b>ἄρα κατήργηται τὸ σκάνδαλον τοῦ σταυροῦ</b>
5	11	203	γ'	ὅλως, φησὶν, εἰ δεῖ περιτεμνέσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο κηρύσσω, λέλυται ἡ φίλονεικία τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἢ πρὸς τὸν σταυρὸν, καὶ οὐκ ἔτι ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν μάχη. νῦν γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο τῷ σταυρῷ ἀπεχθάνονται, ὅτι λύει περιτομὴν καὶ τὸν νόμον.
5	12	204	δ'	<b>Ὅφελον καὶ ἀποκόψονται</b>
5	12	204	δ'	περὶ ὑμῶν μοι μέλει, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀναστατούντων ὑμᾶς, ὡς ἀνιάτα νοσοῦντων, οὐκ ἔτι. τοιγαροῦν μὴ μόνον περιτεμνέσθωσαν, ἀλλ' εἴθε καὶ ἀποκόπους ἑαυτοὺς ἐποίησαν.
5	12	204a	✗	<b>Ὅφελον</b>
5	12	204a	✗	εἴθε καὶ τέλεον ἐξέτεμον ἑαυτοὺς, οἱ τὴν τῆς περιτομῆς ὑμῶν ἀπάτην προσφέροντες.
5	13	205	ε'	<b>ὕμεῖς γὰρ ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ</b>
5	13	205	ε'	οὐκ ἔτι γὰρ νόμῳ δουλεύομεν.
5	13	206	ς'	<b>εἰς ἀφορμὴν τῇ σαρκὶ</b>
5	13	206	ς'	ἐπειδὴ ἄνω καὶ κάτω ἐλευθερίαν καλεῖ, καὶ ὅτι ἀπηλλάγημεν διὰ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ νόμου, ἐφοβήθη μὴ ὑπονοήσωσιν ὅτι ἐλύθη ὁ ζυγὸς τοῦ νόμου, καὶ λοιπὸν ἔξεστιν ἃ βουλόμεθα πράττειν. τοῦτο οὖν διορθοῦται καὶ φησι. μὴ ἀποχρήσησθε τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ εἰς τὸ δουλεύειν καὶ ταῖς τῆς σαρκὸς ἐπιθυμίαις.
5	13	207	ζ'	<b>σαρκὶ</b>
5	13	207	ζ'	τρέψητε φησὶ . τουτέστιν εἰς τὸ δοῦναι χῶραν ταῖς τῆς σαρκὸς ἐπιθυμίαις.
5	13	208	η'	<b>ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης</b>
5	13	208	η'	ἐπειδὴ ἀνείλε τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ νόμου, ἕτερον ἐπιτίθησι τὸν τῆς ἀγάπης, ἐλαφρόν τε καὶ ἰσχυρότερον ἐκείνου. τὸ δὲ δουλεύετε, δηλοῖ, τὸ ἐπιτεταμένον τῆς ἀγάπης. καλῶς δὲ τὸ, ἀλλήλοις. ἀπὸ φιλαρχίας γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτοῖς εἰσκωμάσαντες, οἱ πρὸς τὴν περιτομὴν ἀναστατούντες.
5	14	209	θ'	<b>ὁ γὰρ πᾶς νόμος</b>
5	14	209	θ'	εἰ ὅλως, φησὶ, πληροῦν θέλετε τὸν νόμον, μὴ ἐν τῷ περιτέμνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλήλους, πληροῦτε αὐτόν.
5	15	210	ι'	<b>εἰ δὲ ἀλλήλους δάκνετε</b>
5	15	210	ι'	δάκνειν δὲ καὶ ἔτι ἐπιτακτικώτερον τὸ κατεσθίειν λέγει, τῷ τὰ τοιαῦτα δόγματα παρεμβάλλειν. οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτον σῶμα δαπανᾶται κατεσθιόμενον, ὅσον ψυχὴ φθείρεται ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων δογμάτων. βλέπετε οὖν. πτοοῦντος δὲ τοῦτο. μὴ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀναλωθῆτε. ἡ γὰρ στάσις, φησὶν, αὕτη καὶ ὑμᾶς ἔχει τοὺς ἀναστατούντας καταβλάψαι. εἰκὸς δὲ αὐτὸν μὴ μόνον περὶ τῶν δογμάτων τοῦτο δηλοῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρπαγῶν, καὶ πλεονεξιῶν, καὶ ἐτέρων ἀδικιῶν.

5	15	210a	Φωτ	<p>Ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τόμῳ τῶν εἰς τὸν Ἰεζεκιὴλ ἐξηγητικῶν· εἰς το διὰ τοῦτο πατέρες φάγονται τέκνα ἐρμήνευσω συ (<b>NORMALLY</b> σοι), τάδε ἐπιλέξεως φησι. Τοιαῦτα δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ τα παρὰ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ· αἰτιωμένῳ τοὺς στασιάζοντας πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐν τισὶν ἐκκλησίαις· εἰ δὲ ἀλλήλους δάκνετε καὶ κατατιᾷσθε· καὶ ὁ θεὸς μάρτυς Πιόνιος ἐν τῇ π[...] τοὺς ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸν διωγμὸν παραπεσόντας καὶ ἐπιθύσαντας· ἐλθόντας δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ ἀνακλητικῇ παραινέσει, οὕτως ἀναφέρει τὴν χρήσιν, ἀπαθχόμενος οὕτως· καὶ νῆ κολάσει κολάζομαι· κατὰ μελῶν τέμνομαι· ὀρῶν τοὺς μαργαρίτας τῆς ἐκκλησίας. ὑπὸ τῶν χοίρων καταπατουμένους τοὺς ἀστέρας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὑπὸ τὴν οὐρὰ τοῦ δράκοντος εἰς τὴν γῆν σεσυρμένους τὴν ἄμπελον ἣν ἐφύτευσεν ἣν ἐφύτευσεν ἡ δεξιὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑπὸ τοῦ σὺδὸς τοῦ μονιοῦ λυομένην· καὶ μεθ' ἑτέρα ἀλλὰ μὴ τις ὑπολάβῃ, τέκνα, ὅτι ἡδυνάτησε ὁ κύριος, ἀλλὰ ἡμεῖς μὴ ἀδυνατεῖ ἡ χεὶρ μου τοῦ ἐξελέσθαι; ἢ ἐβάρυνε τὸ οὖς τοῦ μὴ ἀκούεσθαι; ἀλλὰ τί ἁμαρτήματα ὑμῶν δίστησιν ἀναμέσων ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ· ἡμέλησαν μὲν γὰρ· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ κατεφρονήσαμεν ἀλλήλους δάκνοντες καὶ ἀλλήλους καταιτιώμενοι, ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀνηλώθημεν.</p>
5	16	211	ια'	<b>πνεύματι περιπατεῖτε</b>
5	16	211	ια'	κατὰ πνεῦμά, φησι, καὶ τὰ αὐτῷ δοκοῦντα διάγετε καὶ βιοῦτε, καὶ οὐκ ἂν πληρώσητε σαρκὸς ἐπιθυμίαν.
5	17	212	ιβ'	<b>ἡ γὰρ σὰρξ ἐπιθυμεῖ κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος</b>
5	17	212	ιβ'	σάρκα ἐνταῦθα, τὰς σαρκικὰς καὶ πονηρὰς ἐπιθυμίας λέγει. πνεῦμα δὲ, τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ, χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. καὶ φησιν. ἡ μὲν κακία ἀντίκειται τῇ ἀρετῇ, ἡ δὲ ἀρετὴ πάλιν ἐναντιοῦται τῇ κακίᾳ παιδαγωγοῦ τινος τάξιν ἀναπληροῦσα καὶ μὴ ἔδωσα ἡμᾶς κατὰ τὰς φάυλας ἐπιθυμίας πορεῦεσθαι.
5	17	212a	Φωτ	ἄλλως. ἀντίκειται ἡ ἀρετὴ τῇ κακίᾳ, ἵνα μὴ, τῆς κακίας ἐρεθισάσης, εὐθέως ὥσπερ ἀπόλυτον καὶ ἀχαλίνωτον ἐπὶ πρानοὺς φέρηται τὸ σαρκικὸν θέλημα πρὸς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν. πάλιν ἀντίκειται τῇ ἀρετῇ ἡ κακία, ἵνα μὴ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἡ ἐργασία ἀταλαίπωρος πάντῃ καὶ ἄμισθος εἴη, καὶ οἶον ἐκ φύσεως καὶ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἡμῖν συγκεκληρωμένη, καὶ ὥς μόνῳ τῷ διανοηθῆναι κατορθουμένη, χωρὶς σπουδῆς καὶ ἀπάσης καὶ ἀγωνίσματος. αὐτὸς δὲ συντόμως αὐτό φησιν, ἵνα μὴ ἄπερ ἂν θέλητε, ταῦτα ποιῆτε, μῆτε τὰ κακά, φησιν, εὐχερῶς ὅλως καὶ ἀκωλύτως, μῆτε τὰ ἀγαθὰ ῥαδίως πάντῃ καὶ ὀλιγώρως. τὰ οὕτω πραττόμενα, οὐδ' ἀγαθὰ ἂν εἴη.
5	18	213	ιγ'	<b>εἰ δὲ πνεύματι</b>
5	18	213	ιγ'	εἰ κατὰ τὴν βουλήν, φησι, τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος περιπατεῖτε, οὐ σφαλῆσεσθε. ὁ δὲ μὴ πταίων ἐν τινι, οὐ χρήζει τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῆς ἐντεῦθεν συμβουλῆς. ὁ δὲ γε μὴ χρηζών, οὔτε ὑπ' αὐτόν ἐστιν, ὅπερ καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ φησι, δικαίῳ νόμος οὐ κεῖται.
5	19	214	ιδ'	<b>φανερὰ δὲ ἐστὶ</b>
5	19	214	ιδ'	ὥσει ἔλεγεν, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν καρπῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε τὴν πονηρὰν καὶ φαύλην πολιτείαν. σαρκὸς δὲ πάλιν λέγει, τοῦ διαφθειρομένου λογισμοῦ καὶ τῆς γεώδους καὶ σαρκικῆς ζωῆς.
5	19	214a	✗	<b>τὰ ἔργα τῆς σαρκός</b>
5	19	214a	✗	δῆλον τοίνυν ὡς σάρκα, τὸ σαρκικὸν φρόνημα καλεῖ, τουτέστι, τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρῳ ῥοπήν, πνεῦμα δὲ τὴν δεδομένην χάριν.

5	19	215	ιε´	<b>ἀκαθαρσία, ἀσέλγεια</b>
5	19	215	ιε	ἀκαθαρσίαν καὶ ἀσέλγειαν φησὶ, τρόπους αἰσχροῦς πορνείας.
5	20	216	ιζ´	<b>ἔχθραι</b>
5	20	216	ιζ´	αἱ ἄδικοι. εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ δίκαιαι ἔχθραι, αἱ διὰ τὴν πίστιν γινόμεναι. εἰ δυνατόν γάρ, φησι, τὸ ἐξ ὑμῶν μετὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰρηνεύετε, ὥς εἶναι δῆλον, ὅτι ἔστιν ὅτε οὐκ ἔστι δυνατόν. ζῆλοι. οὐ χρὴ γὰρ ζηλεύειν, ἀλλὰ χαίρειν μετὰ χαιρόντων, καὶ κλαίειν μετὰ κλαιόντων.
5	20	217	ιζ´	<b>ἐρίθειαι</b>
5	20	217	ιζ´	οἶον φιλονεικίαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἐριδος.
5	21	218	ιη´	<b>κῶμοι</b>
5	21	218	ιη´	τὸ κωμωδεῖν καὶ ἀποσκώπτειν ἀλλοτρίας ὑπολήψεις μετὰ μέθης.
5	21	219	ιθ´	<b>βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσι</b>
5	21	219	ιθ´	τέως βασιλείας ἔκπτωσις. τὰ γὰρ τῶν τιμωριῶν διάφορα.
5	22	220	κ´	<b>καρπὸς</b>
5	22	220	κ´	καρπὸν εἶπε καὶ οὐκ ἔργον, ἵνα δείξῃ ὅτι τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖται βοήθειας εἰς τὸ καρποφορῆσαι. τοῦ πνεύματος. ἢ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρακλήτου, ἢ τοῦ πνευματικοῦ καὶ ἐνάρετου βίου.
5	22	221	κα´	<b>χαρὰ</b>
5	22	221	κα´	τὸ χαίρειν ἐπὶ θεῷ, τὸ συνείδησιν ἔχειν. οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι χαίρουσι.
5	23	222	κβ´	<b>κατὰ τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἔστι νόμος</b>
5	23	222	κβ´	ὁ γὰρ ταῦτα κατωρθώκως οὐ δεῖται τοῦ παιδαγωγούντος νόμου. ὑψηλότερος γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐστίν.
5	24	223	κγ´	<b>οἱ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν σάρκα</b>
5	24	223	κγ´	εἶτα ἵνα μὴ λέγωσι, καὶ τίς ταῦτα ποιεῖ; φησὶν. οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ταῦτα ποιοῦντες, οἵτινες τὴν σάρκα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τουτέστι τὸ οἰκεῖον σῶμα, σὰρξ γὰρ Χριστοῦ, τὸ ἡμέτερον σῶμα, ἐσταύρωσαν καὶ οἶον ἐνέκρωσαν ἀπὸ τῶν σωματικῶν παθῶν. καὶ οὐ μόνον τὸ σῶμα, ὅσον ἦκεν εἰς τὰ πάθη ἐσταύρωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ πάθη, ὅσον ἦκεν εἰς τὸ ἐπιτελεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν ἐσταύρωνται, κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐρμηνείαν, τὸ, δέ, παρέλκεται. ἢ οὕτως. καὶ τί λέγω, φησὶν, ἐν καθ' ἑν ἁρετῆς εἶδος; εἰσὶ γὰρ τινες οἱ καὶ ἐσταύρωσαν ἑαυτοὺς, ὅσον πρὸς τὰ πάθη, καὶ τὰ πάθη, ὅσον πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς. κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐρμηνείαν, οὐ παρέλκεται τὸ, δέ. οἱ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τουτέστι τείνοντες τὴν ἑαυτῶν σάρκα ἐσταύρωσαν. οὕτως ὁ κλήμης ἐν πέμπτῳ ὑποτυπώσεων.
5	24	223a	ΦΩΤ	ἔστι δὲ τὸ οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ οὗτοι δὲ ἐξακοῦσαι. οὗτοι δέ εἰσιν οὓς εἶπον, οἵτινες τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν σάρκα ἐσταύρωσαν, καὶ ἐξῆς.
5	25	224	κδ´	<b>εἰ ζῶμεν πνεύματι</b>
5	25	224	κδ´	Ὅφειλομεν οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς κατὰ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ζῆν. ἅπαξ σταυροῦν μέλλοντες τὴν σάρκα ἡμῶν, καὶ πνεύματι, φησὶ, στοιχῶμεν, τουτέστιν ἄρκεσθῶμεν τῇ παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος δοθείσῃ χάριτι, καὶ μὴ ζητῶμεν ἐκ νόμου σωθῆναι.
5	26	225	κε´	<b>μὴ γινώμεθα κενόδοξοι</b>
5	26	225	κε´	τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ πάντων αἴτιον τῶν κακῶν.
5	26	226	κς´	<b>ἀλλήλους προκαλούμενοι.</b>
5	26	226	κς´	εἰς ἔρεις δηλονότι.
5	26	227	κζ´	<b>ἀλλήλους φθονοῦντες</b>

5	26	227	κζ´	ἀπὸ γὰρ κενοδοξίας ὁ φθόνος. ἀπὸ φθόνου δὲ, τὰ μυρία κακά.
				CHAPTER 6
6	1	228	κη´	<b>προληφθῇ ἄνθρωπος ἐν τινι παραπτώματι</b>
6	1	228	κη´	πολλοὶ εἰς αὐτοὺς φιλαρχία ἡττημένοι, ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὰ ἁμαρτήματα τῶν πλησίων ἐπιτιμήσει, τὸ πάθος ἐπλήρουν. ὅπερ διορθοῦται. ἐὰν γάρ τις, φησὶ, συναρπαγῇ ἐπὶ ἁμαρτήματι. τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ, προληφθῇ
6	1	229	κθ´	<b>ὕμεις οἱ πνευματικοί</b>
6	1	229	κθ´	οἱ κατὰ πνεῦμα ζῶντες, καταρτίζετε, τουτέστι διορθοῦσθε τὸν τοιοῦτον. εἴτα ἐκβάλλων τὴν φιλαρχίαν, φησὶν, ἐν πνεύματι πραότητος. τουτέστιν, ἐν πραότητι, ἣτις ἐστὶ χάρισμα τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.
6	1	230	λ´	<b>σκοπῶν σεαυτὸν</b>
6	1	230	λ´	εἴτα ἵνα μὴ ὁ διορθῶν ἐπαρθῇ, φησὶ· σκόπει καὶ σὺ καὶ τήρει σεαυτὸν, μὴ τοῖς ἴσοις ἀλῶς.
6	2	231	λα´	<b>ἀλλήλων τὰ βάρη βαστάζετε</b>
6	2	231	λα´	ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἐνὶ εἶναι ἄνθρωπον χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας, παραινεῖ μὴ ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι πρὸς τὰ τοῦ πλησίων ἁμαρτήματα, ὡς εἰδὼς ὅτι καὶ σὺ ἔχεις ἁμαρτίας, καὶ χρὴ ἡμᾶς ἀλλήλοις συμπεριφέρεσθαι.
6	2	232	λβ´	<b>καὶ οὕτως ἀναπληρώσατε τὸν νόμον τοῦ Χριστοῦ</b>
6	2	232	λβ´	ἵνα ὁ ἐμοὶ λείπει ἄλλος ἀναπληρώσῃ συμπεριφερόμενός μοι. καὶ οὕτως, ἐκ τοῦ ἑνα ἕκαστον τῶ πλησίων χεῖρα διδόναι, πληροῦνται αἱ ἐντολαὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.
6	2	232a	Οικου μ	ἢ ὅτι τὰ ἀλλήλων βάρη καὶ ἐλάττωματα βαστάζειν, κατὰ τοῦτο πλήρως ἐστὶ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καθὸ ἐξ ἀγάπης γίνεται. πληρωτικὴ δὲ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ νόμου.
6	2	232b	✗ (Φωτ)	<b>Καὶ οὕτως ἀναπληρώσατε:</b> ὁ γὰρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ νόμος, διὰ τῶν ἔργων τοιοῦτος ἐδείχθη. αὐτὸς γὰρ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἀνέλαβε, καὶ τὰς νόσους ἐβάστασε. καὶ, ἡ ὑπερβολή, ὅτι καὶ σταυρὸν καὶ θάνατον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατεδέξατο.
6	3	233	λγ´	<b>εἰ γὰρ δοκεῖ τις εἶναί τι</b>
6	3	233	λγ´	δι' αὐτὸ μόνον οὐδέν ἐστιν, ὃ δοκεῖ εἶναί τι. τοιγαροῦν μηδὲν ὦν, ἑαυτὸν φρεναπατᾷ.
6	4	234	λδ´	<b>δοκιμάζετω ἕκαστος</b>
6	4	234	λδ´	ἐξεταζέτω ἕκαστος παρ' ἑαυτῷ τὰ βεβιωμένα αὐτῷ· τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν, ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὰ βελτίω μεταρρυθμίσει. οὐ νομοθετοῦντος δὲ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ συγκαταβαίνοντος. οὐ δεῖ μὲν γάρ, φησι, καυχᾶσθαι. εἰ δὲ ἄρα, κἄν μὴ ὡς ὁ Φαρισαῖος κατὰ τοῦ πλησίων καυχῶ, ἀλλὰ κἄν κατὰ σεαυτοῦ.
6	4	234a	✗	(ἄλλως.) εἰ δὲ καὶ σεμνύνεσθαι θέλεις, φησὶ, τὸν σεαυτοῦ περισκόπει βίον, κἄν ἀκατάγνωστον εὐρης, κατὰ σεαυτὸν σεμνύνου, εἴπερ ἄρα τοῦτό σε δεῖ ποιεῖν.
6	4	234b	φωτ	<b>τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἑαυτοῦ δοκιμάζετω:</b> εἰ γὰρ τις τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἔργον δοκιμάζοι, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐρευνᾷ ἀκριβῶς, μᾶλλον εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἔξει τὸ καύχημα, καὶ οὐχὶ καθ' ἑτέρου, τουτέστι καθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἔξει τὸ καύχημα, οἷον ἑαυτοῦ καταγνώσεται, καὶ οὐχὶ ἐτέρων. ἢ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἔξει τὸ καύχημα, τουτέστιν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐλαττούμενον καὶ ἐνδεῶς ἔχοντα βλέπων, ἑαυτὸν μέμψεται καὶ τῆς ἐτέρων ἀποστήσεται καὶ καταγνώσεως, εἰδὼς ἑαυτὸν, οὐδὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀεὶ πολιτείαν αὐτοῦ διαφυλάττοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτης ἔσθ' ὅτε διαπίπτοντα.
6	5	235	λε´	<b>Ἕκαστος γὰρ τὸ ἴδιον</b>

6	5	235	λε´	τί γὰρ κατακαυχᾶσαι τοῦ πλησίον; φησί. καὶ σὺ κἀκεῖνος τὸ ἴδιον φορτίον βαστάσετε. καὶ τότε δοκιμασθήσεται ἐκάστου τὸ ἔργον.
6	6	236	λζ´	<b>κοινωνεῖτω δέ</b>
6	6	236	λζ´	κελεύει τοῖς τῶν πνευματικῶν ἀπολαύουσι, μεταδιδόναι τῶν σαρκικῶν.
6	6	236a	∕	ὁ κατηχούμενος τὸν λόγον, τουτέστιν, ὁ διδασκόμενος, μεταδιδότω τῷ διδάσκοντι, τροφὰς, εὐνοίαν, τιμὴν. τοῦτο γὰρ δηλοῖ τὸ, ἐν πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς. καλῶς δὲ εἶπε, κοινωνεῖτω, καὶ οὐ μεταδιδότω. κοινωνία γὰρ τὸ πρᾶγμα. ἐκεῖνος πνευματικὰ συνεισφέρει, σὺ δὲ ὁ διδασκόμενος, σαρκικά.
6	7	237	λζ´	<b>θεὸς οὐ μυκτηρίζεται</b>
6	7	237	λζ´	οὐκ ἀπατᾶται, οὐ τῷ ἀγαθῷ κακὰ, ἢ πάλιν τῷ κακῷ ἀγαθὰ ἀντιδίδωσιν. ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἴσον εἶναι τὸν ἀμητὸν τῷ σπόρῳ. καὶ οὐδεὶς ὁρόβους σπείρας, σῖτον θερίσειεν.
6	8	238	λη´	<b>ὅτι ὁ σπείρων εἰς τὴν σάρκα</b>
6	8	238	λη´	τί δέ τις σπείρει ἐν τῇ σαρκί; μέθην, τρυφὴν, γαστριμαργίαν, ἀκολασίαν. ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς, οἷον διὰ τὴν σάρκα τὴν πλημμελήσασαν, ἔξει τιμωρίαν ἐκεῖ. τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς, τουτέστι διὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ σπαρέντων ἀμαρτημάτων.
6	8	239	λθ´	<b>ὁ δὲ σπείρων εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα</b>
6	8	239	λθ´	τί δέ τις σπείρει εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον; τί ἄλλο, ἢ ἐλεημοσύνην, καὶ σωφροσύνην, καὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετήν;
6	8	240	μ´	<b>ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος θερίσει ζωὴν αἰώνιον</b>
6	8	240	μ´	ὥσπερ γὰρ διάφορα τὰ σπέρματα τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος, οὕτω καὶ ὁ θερισμός. ἐκεῖ φθορᾶ, ὧδε ζωὴ αἰώνιος. μὴ ἐκκακῶμεν.
6	9	241	μα´	<b>μὴ ἐκκακῶμεν</b>
6	9	241	μα´	μὴ ἀπείπωμεν μὴ δὲ ἐκλυθῶμεν, διὰ τὸ εἶναι τὰς ἀντιδόσεις ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι. ἔσται γὰρ καιρὸς ὁ πάντως ἥξων, ὅταν ἀπολάβωμεν τὰ καλὰ, καὶ θερίσωμεν τὰ νῦν ἡμῖν σπαρέντα χρηστά. εἴτα ἐπειδὴ θερισμοῦ ἐμνημόνευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ κόπου δεῖται καὶ καμάτου, προσέθηκε, μὴ ἐκλυόμενοι, ὥσει ἔλεγεν. ὁ θερίζων τότε, οὐ κάμνει, οὐδὲ ἐκλύεται, ὥς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ. μὴ τοίνυν ἀκούσαντες θερισμόν, πάλιν καὶ τότε μοχθεῖν ὑπονοήσετε.
6	9	241a	∕	ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν αἰσθητῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ ὁ σπόρος εἶχε κόπον, καὶ ὁ ἀμητὸς ὡσαύτως. διαλύει γὰρ πολλὰ τοὺς ἀμῶντας, καὶ τὸ ἀμᾶν, καὶ τὸ τῆς ὥρας θερμόν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος οὐ τοιοῦτος ὁ ἀμητός. πόνου γὰρ καὶ ἰδρωτός ἐστιν ἐλεύθερος. τοῦτο γὰρ ἔφη, μὴ ἐκλυόμενοι.
6	9	241b	ΦΩΤ	<b>μὴ ἐκλυόμενοι:</b> ἢ μὴ ἐκλυόμενοι, τουτέστι μὴ ἀποναρκῶντες, μὴδὲ τῆς ἀγαθοεργίας ἀφιστάμενοι. τῶν γὰρ εἰς τέλος ἀγωνιζομένων ἐστὶν ὁ στέφανος.
6	10	242	μβ´	<b>ὥς καιρὸν ἔχομεν</b>
6	10	242	μβ´	ἐν τῇ ζωῇ γὰρ ταύτῃ, ὁ καιρὸς ἐστὶ τῆς ἐργασίας, ἐκεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἔτι.
6	10	243	μγ´	<b>τὸ ἀγαθὸν πρὸς πάντας</b>
6	10	243	μγ´	πρὸς Ἰουδαίους, πρὸς Ἑλλήνας, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πιστούς.
6	11	244	μδ´	<b>πηλίκους</b>

6	11	244	μδ´	τὸ πηλίκους οὐ μεγέθους ἐστὶ δηλωτικὸν, ἀλλὰ ἀμορφίας τῶν γραμμάτων. ὥσει ἔλεγεν. καὶ ταῦτα μὴ εἰδὼς γράφειν καλῶς, ὅμως ἠνάγκασμαι ἰδιόχειρον τὴν ἐπιστολὴν γράψαι, διὰ τὸ ὁμολογίαν μου, φησὶν, ἰδιόχειρον ἀποκεῖσθαι, ὅτι οὐ κηρύσσω περιτομὴν ὡς οἱ διαβάλλοντες λέγουσιν.
6	12	245	με´	<b>ὅσοι θέλουσιν εὐπροσώπησαι</b>
6	12	245	με´	ὅσοι θέλουσι, φησὶ, παρὰ ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκιμεῖν, οὗτοι ἀναγκάζουσιν ὑμᾶς περιτεμνέσθαι. ποίοις ἀνθρώποις; ἢ παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις ὡς ἐχομένοις τοῦ πατρῷου νόμου, ἢ παρὰ τοῖς ἔξω τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὡς μαθηταῖς ὑμῶν κεχρημένοις.
6	12	245a	∕	<b>ἐν σαρκί</b>
6	12	245a	∕	ἐν σαρκὶ γὰρ, τουτέστιν, ἐν ἀνθρώποις
6	12	246	μζ´	<b>ὕμᾱς περιτέμνεσθαι</b>
6	12	246	μζ´	θέλουσιν ἔχειν καὶ ἑτέρους περιτεμνομένους, ἵνα μὴ διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ τῆς πίστεως, ἐλαύνωνται καὶ διώκωνται. εἰ δὲ ἔστι, διοικῶνται, οὕτω νοήσεις. πάντα ποιοῦσι, καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσαι θέλουσι, μόνον ἵνα μὴ διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἄρχωνται καὶ διοικῶνται.
6	13	247	μζ´	<b>οὐ γὰρ οἱ περιτεμνόμενοι</b>
6	13	247	μζ´	δείκνυσιν κατὰ κενοδοξίαν τὸ πᾶν αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν. οὐ γὰρ οὗτοι, φησὶν, οἱ περιτεμνόμενοι καὶ ὑμᾶς περιτέμνοντες, ὡς νόμον τηροῦντες καὶ φυλάττοντες τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλ´ ἵνα ἔχωσι τοῦ καυχᾶσθαι ἀφορμὴν διὰ τοῦ ὑμᾶς περιτέμνειν. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστίν, ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ σαρκί, ἵνα, φησὶν, ὧσι διδάσκαλοι, καὶ μαθητὰς ὑμᾶς ἔχωσι.
6	14	248	μη´	<b>ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ γένοιτο καυχᾶσθαι</b>
6	14	248	μη´	τίς δὲ ἢ καύχησις; ὅτι δι´ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀναξίους κατεδέξατο σταυρωθῆναι. τοῦτο γὰρ ἡμῖν καυχήσεως ἀφορμή. εἰς τὸν σταυρὸν οὖν τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἶη μοι καυχᾶσθαι, τὸν τοῖς ἀπίστοις καὶ ἐπονείδιστον εἶναι δοκοῦντα.
6	14	248a	∕	<b>μὴ γένοιτο</b>
6	14	248a	∕	ὡς χαλεπὸν τι ἀπηύξατο.
6	14	249	μθ´	<b>δι´ οὗ ἐμοὶ κόσμος ἐσταύρωται</b>
6	14	249	μθ´	κόσμον φησὶ, τὰ βιωτικὰ πράγματα, τὸν παρὰ ἀνθρώπων ἔπαινον, τὴν δόξαν. ὅσον οὖν παρ´ ἐμοὶ, ταῦτα πάντα νεκρά ἐστίν. εἴτα ἐπίτασιν εἶπε· καὶ ἐγώ, φησι, τούτοις νεκρὸς εἰμὶ, τῇ διπλῇ νεκρότητι τὸ φευκτὸν αὐτῶν δηλῶν καὶ παντελῶς ἀνενέργητον.
6	15	250	ν´	<b>ἀλλὰ καινὴ κτίσις</b>
6	15	250	ν´	καινὴ κτίσις ἐστὶ, φησὶ, τὰ πάντα, πάντες γὰρ οἱ τε ἐμπερίτομοι καὶ οἱ ἀκρόβυστοι πιστεύσαντας, καινὴ κτίσις γεγόναμεν, τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἀνθρώπου ταφέντος, καὶ ἡμῶν ἀναγεννηθέντων ἐν τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ.
6	16	251	να´	<b>καὶ ὅσοι τῷ κανόνι τούτῳ στοιχήσουσιν</b>
6	16	251	να´	ὅσοι, φησὶ, τῷ κανόνι καὶ τῇ διδαχῇ ταύτῃ ἀρκεσθῶσι, τὸ καινὴν κτίσιν εἶναι τὰ πάντα, καὶ μὴ ὑποθῶσιν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ νόμῳ.
6	16	252	νβ´	<b>καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ Θεοῦ</b>
6	16	252	νβ´	Ἰσραὴλ ὁ πιστὸς ἐστὶ λαὸς, ὡς ὁρῶν τὸν Θεόν. ὡς ὅγε ἄπιστος, κἄν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰακώβ ἐστίν, ἐκβέβληται τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν συγγενείας.

6	16	252a	⸱	Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν Ἰουδαίων λεγόντων ἑαυτοὺς Ἰσραὴλ· ὄντων δὲ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ σατανᾶ συναγωγῆς· καὶ οἷων ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει, φησὶ.
6	17	253	νγ´	<b>τοῦ λοιποῦ κόπους μοι μηδεὶς παρεχέτω</b>
6	17	253	νγ´	τοῦτο οὐκ ὀκνῶν λέγει, μὴ γένοιτο, ἀλλὰ βουλόμενος τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ τεθέντας νόμους ἀκινήτους εἶναι, ὥς μηκέτι μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ προστιθέναι ἢ ὑφαιρεῖν.
6	17	253a	ΦΩΤ	<b>τοῦ λοιποῦ κόπους μοι μηδεὶς:</b> μηδεὶς μοι κόπους παρεχέτω, μηδεὶς μοι πρὸς ἀπολογία ὧν πράττω ἐγκαλείτω. ἔχω γὰρ καὶ σιγῶν, μείζονα τὴν διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἀπολογία. τὰ γὰρ στίγματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τουτέστιν αἱ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ πληγαὶ καὶ οὖλαι, αὐτὰ βοῶσι καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δρόμον καὶ ζῆλον, καὶ τὸ ἀνυπόκριτον καὶ καθαρὸν καὶ ἀνυπόστολον τοῦ κηρύγματος. ἢ μηδεὶς μοι κόπους παρεχέτω. μέχρι τίνος, θλίψεις μοι καὶ κόπους μοι, φησὶ, σαλευόμενοι παρέχετε; δυσωπήθητε εἰ καὶ μὴ τι ἄλλο, ἀλλ' οὖν τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἃ δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ διὰ τὸ εἰς ὑμᾶς κήρυγμα, ἐν τῷ σώματι περιφέρω. εἰπὼν δέ, στίγματα Χριστοῦ, ἅμα ἀναμνησκει ὅτι ἀκεῖνος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἔπαθε. καὶ παντὶ οὖν τρόπῳ ἀποστῆναι τοῦ νόμου καὶ ἐστηρίχθαι τῇ πίστει προσῆκεν.
6	17	254	νδ´	<b>τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ</b>
6	17	254	νδ´	στίγματα λέγει τὰς πληγὰς, τὰ τραύματα, τὰ διὰ τὸν κύριον καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα.
6	17	255	νε´	<b>ἐν τῷ σώματί μου βαστάζω</b>
6	17	255	νε´	ὥσει ἔλεγε. μηδεὶς με ὥς ὑποκριτὴν διαβαλλέτω παρ' ὑμῖν. αὐτὰ γὰρ τὰ τραύματα καὶ αἱ διὰ τὸν κύριον πληγαὶ μαρτυροῦσι μοι ἀνυποκρίτως πολιτεύεσθαι. διεβάλλετο γὰρ, πάντα ποιῶν ὥς κατὰ ὑπόκρισιν, καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ μὲν περιτομὴν κηρύσσων ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ οὐ.
6	18	256	νς´	<b>μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ὑμῶν</b>
6	18	256	νς´	σὺν τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ. τῇ ψυχῇ τὴν χάριν ἐπεύχεται γενέσθαι.
				τέλος σὺν θεῷ τῆς πρὸς Γαλάτας ἐπιστολῆς.
				ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ῥώμης.

## APPENDIX II: The critical edition of Galatians from the complex Constantinopolitan Pauline catena

### CODICES

A = Parisinus Coislinianus gr. 26 (GA 056)

B = Monacensis gr. 375 (GA 0142)

Γ = Venetus Marcianus gr. Z. 35 (343) (GA 1925)

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### Declaratio siglorum

[...]	litterae perditae
*	prima manus
alt.	alterum
a.r.	ante rasuram
c	corrector
cf.	confer
corr.	Correxit
comm.	comment
f. / ff.	folium/ folia
in mg.	in margine
om.	Omittit, omittunt
p.r.	post rasuram





## Πρὸς Γαλάτας

<Gal.1.1-2> *Παῦλος ἀπόστολος οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου· ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς· τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν· καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντες ἀδελφοὶ· ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας·*

Εὐθύς τὸ προοίμιον· τὴν γεγεννημένην ἐλέγχει διαβολὴν· καὶ ἀναιρεῖ· τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἀνθρώπων μαθητῆς· τῆς γὰρ ἀποστολικῆς ἔφη χάριτος ἡξιῶσθαι. «οὐκ ἀνθρώπων» τοῦτο αὐτῷ δεδοκότων (δεδοκότων A] δεδοκότων BΓ)· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑφ' ἑτέρου ἐζώγρητο· ἀλλ' αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ὁ δεσπότης οὐρανόθεν ἐκάλεσεν (BΓ om. ἐκάλεσεν) οὐκ ἀνθρώπῳ χρησάμενος ὑπουργῷ· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ «οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπων»· καὶ ἵνα μή τις ὑπουργὸν τοῦτον νομίσῃ· ἐπήγαγε· «καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς»· διδάσκων ὡς οὐδεμίαν φύσεως διαφορὰν· ἡ «διὰ» σημαίνει· καὶ τὸ «ἐγεῖραι» δὲ· οὐ τῆς τοῦ μονογενοῦς θεότητος αἰνίττεται τὴν ἀσθένειαν· οὐ γὰρ ἡ θεότης ἔπαθεν· ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως οὐ μόνος ὁ υἱὸς ὤκονόμησεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ πατήρ· ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ τῷ νόμῳ συνηγοροῦντες· τὸν πατέρα ἐδόκουν τιμᾶν, δείκνυσιν ὁ ἀπόστολος· οὐ τὸν υἱὸν μόνον· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν πατέρα τῆς καινῆς χορηγὸν διαθήκης· εὐκαίρως τῆς οἰκονομίας καὶ τοῦ θανάτου μνησθεῖς· ἵνα τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐεργεσιῶν ὑπομνήσας· τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ πείσῃ μηκέτι τῷ νόμῳ προσέχειν ἀλλὰ τῷ Χριστῷ· πάντων δὲ μέμνηται τῶν ἀδελφῶν· ἐπεὶ οἱ διαβάλλοντες ἔλεγον· μόνον τὸν Παῦλον κατὰ καινοτομίαν κωλύειν τὴν περιτομὴν· δείκνυσιν οὖν κάκείνους κοινωνοὺς τῶν τοιούτων δογμάτων· ἔνδειξις δὲ θυμοῦ· τὸ μὴ εἰπεῖν ὡς (ὡς AΓ] om. B) εἰώθει τοῖς ἀγαπητοῖς· ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις· οὐ τοῦ θεοῦ· ἀλλὰ τῆς Γαλατίας· καὶ πολλὰς αὐτὰς λέγειν οὐ μίαν· δηλῶν ὡς πανταχοῦ εἶρπεν ἡ νόσος·

ἄλλος· «οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων» μὲν ὅτι θεία φωνὴ κεκληται· καὶ ὅτι ἡ ἀποστολὴ αὐτῷ ὡς ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι γέγραπται ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος δέδοται· ἀφορίσατε γὰρ μοι φησὶν τὸν Βαρνάβαν καὶ Παῦλον· ὅθεν καὶ δῆλον· ὡς μία ἐξουσία ἐστὶν υἱοῦ καὶ πνεύματος· ὑπ' ἐκείνου γὰρ ἀφορισθεῖς· ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ λέγει ἀπεστάλθαι· ἀδιαφόρως τῷ λόγῳ χρώμενος· καὶ ἐπεὶ οἱ αἵρετικοὶ ὡς

ἐλάττονα τὴν διάλεξιν προσέρριψαν τῷ υἱῷ, τίθησι ταύτην ἐπὶ πατρός· μὴ νομοθετεῖν ἡμᾶς διδάσκων τῇ ἀρρήτῳ φύσει. μὴ δὲ μέτρα ὀρίζειν θεότητος. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕτερον ποιεῖ· διὰ τὸ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι ἐπινοεῖν τινὰς ἐλάττωσιν τοῦ υἱοῦ ὅτι μετὰ τὸν πατέρα τέτακται· νῦν προτίθησι τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν υἱόν· καὶ ἐπαμφοῖν τὴν «διὰ». ἐμφράττων τῶν κενολόγων τὰ στόματα. καὶ πατέρα μὲν καλεῖ τὸν θεόν· βουλόμενος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰς υἰοθεσίαν ἐληλυθυῖαν. ἐλευθέραν εἶναι τῆς τοῦ νόμου δουλείας· διὰ δὲ τοῦ ἐγείραντος. δείκνυσι τὰ τῆς θείας εὐεργεσίας εἰς ἡμᾶς γεγενημένα ἐξαίρετα· καὶ ὅτι οὐ Μωσῆς οὐ ἀντείχοντο. πέπονθεν ἢ ἔσωσεν (ἔσωσεν AB] ἔσωθεν Γ), ἀλλ' ὁ Χριστός· εἰ δὲ τὰ νόμιμα ἔσωζεν, οὐκ ἦν χρεια σταυροῦ· οὐχ ὅτι δὲ διὰ τὸ ἀσθενεῖν ἑαυτὸν ἐγείραι· γέγραπται ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐγερθήσεσθαι· πῶς γὰρ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν πίστεως τοῦτο ποιούσης καὶ τῶν ἱματίων τῶν μαθητῶν. αὐτὸς ἡσθένει. ἀλλ' εἰς τιμὴν εἴρηται τοῦτο τοῦ πατρὸς· ἢ δι' ἑτέραν οἰκονομίαν· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ εἶπεν λύσατε καὶ ἐγερῶ· ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις δὲ. ἴσως συνάψαι ἐκ προοιμίου τὸ στασιάζον κατεπειγόμενος·

1–10 εὐθὺς — διαθήκης] cf. Theodoret PG 82.461.10-14      10–11 εὐκαιρως — τῷ Χριστῷ] cf. comm. 3  
 12–14 πάντων — δογμάτων] cf. comm. 5      15–16 ἐνδειξις — Γαλατίας] cf. comm. 6  
 16–17 καὶ πολλὰς — νόσος] cf. Theodoret PG 82.461.37-39      18–27 ἄλλος — δουλείας] not identified  
 27–29 διὰ δὲ — χρεια σταυροῦ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 7.15-20      29 εἰ δὲ — σταυροῦ] cf. Eusebius of Emesa *Fr. Gal* 47.1-2      29–33 οὐχ ὅτι — κατεπειγόμενος] not identified

<Gal 1.3-5> *Χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν· καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν* (ἑαυτὸν A<sup>c</sup> BΓ] αὐτὸν A\*) *ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν. ὅπως ἐξέλγεται ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος αἰῶνος πονηροῦ· κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς* (θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς A] πατρὸς BΓ) *ἡμῶν· ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν·*

Ἀναγκαίως τοῦτο νῦν μάλιστα Γαλάταις ἐπιστέλλων τίθησιν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐκινδύνευον τῇ περιτομῇ τῆς χάριτος ἐκπεσεῖν. ἐπεύχεται ταύτην αὐτοῖς· καὶ ἐπεὶ πρὸς θεὸν ἑαυτοὺς

ἐξεπολέμωσαν τῇ τῶν νομικῶν παρατηρήσει. παρακαλεῖ πρὸς τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρήνην πάλιν αὐτοὺς ἐπαναγαγεῖν· «πατέρα» δὲ ἐνταῦθα. τὸν «θεὸν» καλεῖ· καθαπτόμενος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ὑπομιμνήσκων. δι' ἧς πεφήνασιν υἱοὶ· οὐ γὰρ διὰ νόμου. διὰ δὲ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας. ταύτης ἠξιώθησαν τῆς τιμῆς· πόθεν φησὶν ὁ δοῦλος ὁ ἡλλοτριωμένος. «πατέρα» καλεῖς τὸν «θεὸν»· μὴ ὁ νόμος ταυτὴν ἡμῖν ἐχαρίσατο τὴν εὐγένειαν; τί οὖν καταλιπόντες τὸν εἰς ταύτην ὑμᾶς (ὕμᾶς AB] om. Γ) τὴν ἐγγύτητα ἀγαγόντα· τῷ παιδαγωγῷ πάλιν προστρέχετε· ἢ ἵνα τῆς υἱοθεσίας φανερουμένης. ἐκβληθῇ ἡ τοῦ νόμου ἀνάγκη· «τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν»· ὁρᾷς ὅτι οὐ δουλικὴν ὑπέμεινε διακονίαν· ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν ἔδωκεν; ὥστε ὅτ' ἀκούσης ὅτι τὸν μονογενῆ ἔδωκεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ὁ πατήρ. εὐδοκίαν τοῦτο τοῦ πατρὸς νόει. μὴ ἐλαττῶν τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ μονογενοῦς, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τῷ πατρὶ τοῦτο δοκοῦν ἦν· διὰ δὲ τοῦ «ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν»· ἔδειξε τὴν κατὰ νόμον πολιτείαν· ἁμαρτημάτων ἀπαλλάξαι μὴ δυνηθεῖσαν (δυνηθεῖσαν A] δυνηθῆσαν BΓ)· ἀλλὰ τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι· ὁ μὲν γὰρ φανερὸν καθιστὰς τὸ ἁμάρτημα. μᾶλλον κατεδίκαζεν· ὁ δὲ τὰ τε πρῶτα ἐξήλειπεν (ἐξήλειψε A] ἐξήλειπεν BΓ). καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον πιστεύεται συντηρεῖν· τοῦτο γὰρ· τὸ ὅπως ἐξέλγεται «ἐκ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος αἰῶνος πονηροῦ»· τουτέστι. τῶν κακῶν πράξεων καὶ τῆς διεφθαρμένης ζωῆς· ταύτην γὰρ αἰῶνα καλεῖ πονηρὸν· οὐ τὰς ἡμέρας ἄπαγε· ὁ καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰώθαμεν συμβάντος ἀδοκίτου τινὸς λέγειν· κακὴν ἡμέραν ἐποίησα·

ἢ ὡς ἕτερος· οὐ τὰ στοιχεῖα φησὶ αἰῶνα πονηρὸν κατὰ τὴν Μανιχαίων ἐμβροντησίαν. ἀλλὰ τὴν πρόσκαιρον διαγωγὴν· ἐν ἣ χώραν ἔχει τὸ πλημμελεῖν· ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ κρείττους τοῦ ἁμαρτάνειν ἐσόμεθα· ἐξεύλετο δὲ (ὁ A] om. BΓ) ἡμᾶς τῆς κατὰ τὸν παρόντα βίον διαγωγῆς. ἐν ἣ χώραν ἔχει τὰ τῆς πονηρίας· ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ αὕτη πᾶσιν ἐπιβλαβὴς ἡ ζωὴ· αὐτὸς ἐδίδαξε· προσθεῖς τοῦ σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι τὸ ζῆν, διὰ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν φυόμενον κέρδος· ἢ διὰ τοῦ εἰπεῖν «ἐνεστῶτος αἰῶνος πονηροῦ». ἔδειξεν ὡς τὸ κακὸν οὐκ ἀγέννητον οὐδὲ αἰδίων. ἀλλὰ πρόσκαιρον· διὰ δὲ τοῦ «ἐξέλγεται». παρίστησιν ὡς οὐκ ἦν εὐχερὲς νόμῳ ἢ προφήταις ἢ ἐτέρῳ. τοῦτο· τὸ γὰρ «ἐξέλγεται»· ἰσχὺν δείκνυσιν τοῦ ῥυσαμένου· οὐ γὰρ ἀρπάσαντος φησὶν· ἀλλὰ δόντος· ὥστε οὐ βίας ἦν (ἦν A] om. BΓ), ἀλλ' ἰσχύος· καὶ ἡ λέξις, τὸ δυσκατόρθωτον ἐτέρῳ τινὶ παρέστησεν· εἴτα ἐπεὶ ἔλεγον· μὴ δεῖν ἔαν τὸν νόμον ὡς ὑπὸ θεοῦ δοθέντα· δείκνυσιν ὅτι καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ πιστεῦσαι· «θέλημα

τοῦ πατρὸς» ἐστὶ· «κατὰ τὸ θέλημα γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς», ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὁ Χριστὸς· ὁρᾷς ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ ἐπιταγὴ τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν· ἀλλὰ σύννευσις μόνῃ· συντάττει γὰρ πανταχοῦ τῷ Χριστῷ τὸν πατέρα. διδάσκων ὡς καὶ αὐτῷ συνδοκεῖ· μὴ νομίμως. ἀλλ’ εὐαγγελικῶς πολιτεύεσθαι· «καὶ πατρὸς δὲ ἡμῶν» προσθεῖς. ἀνέμνησε τοῦ βαπτίσματος· καὶ μνησθεῖς τῶν θείων εὐεργεσιῶν. εἰς δοξολογίαν κατέπαυσεν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτὰς ἐξειπεῖν· ἢ ἐπεὶ ἐνηλλαγμένως ἐν ἀρχῇ τέθεικε τὸ ἀμὴν· ἀλλ’ οὐ μετὰ πολλὰ ὡς εἴωθε δείκνυσιν ὡς καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα ἱκανὴν ἔχει κατηγορίαν Γαλατῶν· καὶ ὁ λόγος ἀπηρτισμένος ἐστί· τὰ γὰρ φανερά τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, οὐ πολλῆς δεῖται τῆς κατασκευῆς· εἴτα πυρωθεὶς ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τῆς μνήμης τῶν θείων εὐεργεσιῶν καὶ εὐνοίας, ἀπὸ σφοδρότερας ἄρχεται ἐπιπλήξεως οὕτω λέγων·

1 ἀναγκαίως — τίθησιν ] not identified      1–4 ἐπεὶ — ἐπαγαγεῖν ] cf. comm. 7      4–5 πατέρα — νόμου ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 9.13-15      5–7 διὰ δὲ — τὸν θεὸν ] cf. comm. 8, *Typ. Par.* 9.16-19      7–10 μὴ ὁ — διακονίαν ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 9.19-24      10–11 ἀλλ’ ἑαυτὸν — νόει ] cf. comm. 9      11–12 μὴ ἐλαττῶν — δοκοῦν ἦν ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 9.32-10.2      12–14 ἔδειξε — πεποιηκέναι] cf. Theodoret PG 82.461.43  
14 ὁ μὲν — κατεδίκαζεν ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 10.9-13      14–15 ὁ δὲ — συντηρεῖν ] not identified  
16–18 τὸ ὅπως — ἐποίησα ] cf. comm. 10      19–23 οὐ τὰ — κέρδος] cf. Theodoret PG 82.461.48-464.11      23–24 διὰ τοῦ — πρόσκαιρον] cf. comm. 10a      24–27 διὰ δὲ — παρέστησεν] cf. *Typ. Par.* 13.8-14, cf. Eusebius of Emesa *Fr. Gal.* 47.10      27–30 ἐπεὶ ἔλεγον — μόνῃ] cf. comm. 11.1      30–32 συντάττει — πολιτεύεσθαι] cf. Theodoret PG 82.464.21      32 καὶ πατρὸς — βαπτίσματος] cf. comm. 11.2      32–33 μνησθεῖς — ἐξειπεῖν] cf. comm. 12      33–37 ἐνηλλαγμένως — λέγων] cf. *Typ. Par.* 13.15-30 (Chrys. PG 61.620.1-15)

<1.6-7> **Θαυμάζω ὅτι οὕτω ταχέως μετατίθεσθε ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς ἐν χάριτι Χριστοῦ εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον, ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο· εἰ μὴ τινές εἰσιν οἱ ταρασσόντες ὑμᾶς καὶ θέλοντες μεταστρέψαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ·**

Διὰ πάντων ηὔξησε τὴν ἁτοπίαν τῆς μεταβολῆς. τὸ οὕτως εἰπὼν. πολλὴν ἔχων ἔνδειξιν· καὶ τὸ «ταχέως» ἐπισυνάψας· καὶ «μετατίθεσθε» εἰπὼν, οὐ μετάγεσθε· ὡς ἐπὶ ἀψύχων φησὶν

«μετατίθεσθε πρὸς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον»· ὁ παντελής ἐστιν εὐσεβείας μετάθεσις ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐδώκουν διὰ τοῦ τῶν νομίμων περιέχεσθαι τιμῶν (τιμῶν Γ] τιμῶν AB) τὸν πατέρα. δείκνυσιν ὡς καὶ τοῦτον παροξύνουσι μὴ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τιμῶντες· οὗ πάντα τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐστὶ δύο οὖν ἐγκλήματα τίθησι· καὶ τὴν μετάθεσιν· καὶ τὴν ταχίστην μετάθεσιν· ὡς μὴ δὲ χρόνου δεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀπατῶντας (ἀπαντῶντας A] ἀπατῶντας BΓ)· ὁ γὰρ ἐκ πρώτης προσβολῆς καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀκροβολισμοῖς πεσῶν, ἀθλιώτερος· ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον. οὐκ ἔστι κατηγορίας ἐλεύθερος· δείκνυσιν οὖν ὡς ὁ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἀφιστάμενος, καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς συναφίσταται· ὃς ἐκάλεσεν (ἐκάλεσεν AB] συνεκάλεσεν Γ) ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν χάριν (χάριν A] χαρὰν BΓ) τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ· ὁ μὲν γὰρ υἱὸς ἰδίῳ αἵματι παρέχει τὴν ἄφεσιν χάριτι καὶ οὐ μισθῷ· ὁ δὲ πατὴρ πρὸς ταύτην καλεῖ· τὸ πνεῦμα συνευδοκεῖ· ὥστε κοινὴ ἡ εὐδοκία τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος· ὥστε ἔδειξε τὴν τοῦ νόμου φυλακὴν, ἄρνησιν τοῦ νομοθέτου· οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν μετατίθεσθε ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς διδασκαλίας εἰς τήνδε, ἀλλ' «ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς»· τίς δὲ ὁ καλέσας; ὁ πατὴρ διὰ Χριστοῦ· ἀνακτωμένου δὲ ὁμῶς καὶ τὸ μὴ εἰπεῖν μετέθεσθε. ἀλλὰ «μετατίθεσθε»· οἷον οὐδέπω πιστεύω ἀπρητίσθαι τὰ τῆς ἀπάτης (ἀπάτης A<sup>c</sup>] ἀγάπης ABΓ)· ὁ καὶ προῖων σαφέστερον λέγει· πέποιθα ὡς οὐδὲν ἄλλο φρονήσετε· ἡ κλήσις οὖν φησὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐστὶ· τῆς κλήσεως ἡ αἰτία, ὁ υἱὸς· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ καταλλάξας· ὁ οὖν φρικωδέστερον ἦν καὶ ἱκανὸν ἐκπλήξαι τέθεικε· «τοῦ καλέσαντος» εἰπὼν· οἱ γὰρ ἀπατᾶν βουλόμενοι· οὐκ ἀθρόως τοῦτο ἐποίουν· ἀλλὰ τῶν πραγμάτων μεθιστῶντες, τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐ μεθίστων· τοιαύτη γὰρ ἡ τοῦ διαβόλου πλάνη· οὐ γυμνὰ τὰ θήρατρα τίθησιν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ εἶπον ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ· ὡς πλάνους ἂν ἐφυλάξαντο· νῦν δὲ ἀφέντες αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ πίστει τέως, καὶ τῇ πλάνῃ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐπιτιθέντες ὄνομα. μετὰ πολλῆς ἀδείας διώρυκτον τὴν τῆς πίστεως οἰκοδομήν· καθάπερ τινων παραπετασμάτων. τῶν ὀνομάτων κρυπτόντων τοὺς τοιχωρύχους· ἐπεὶ οὖν εὐαγγέλιον ἐκάλουν τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπάτην. καλῶς καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα μάχεται λέγων· «εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον· ὁ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο»· τοῦτο φησὶ καταλιπόντες ἕτερον οὐχ εὐρήσετε· τὸ αὐτὸ γὰρ πάντες κηρύττομεν· ἀλλ' ὁ Μαρκίων ὡς ἀσθενής· καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑγιαίνοντων σιτίων βλαπτόμενος, ἰδοὺ φησὶ καὶ Παῦλος εἶπεν «οὐκ ἔστιν ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον»· οὐ γὰρ παραδέχονται τοὺς τέσσαρας εὐαγγελιστάς, ἀλλ' ἓνα μόνον· καὶ αὐτὸν, συγγέαντες ὡς ἐβούλοντο· ἔστι μὲν οὖν καταγέλαστον, τὸ περὶ τοιούτων λέγειν· ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖον ἐλέγχειν, διὰ τοὺς ἀπατωμένους. ἔστιν

οὗν εἰπεῖν ὅτι κὰν μυριοὶ γράφωσιν εὐαγγέλια· γράφωσι δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ. ἓν ἐστι τὰ πολλὰ· ὥσπερ κὰν εἷς ὁ γράφων ἢ καὶ ἐνάντια γράφη. οὐκ ἔστιν ἓν· ἓν γὰρ καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα. τῇ ταυτότητι κρίνεται. καὶ πολλὰ τῇ ἑτερότητι· καὶ τὸ λέγειν τοὺς τέσσαρας τὰ αὐτὰ· «οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο» καὶ ἄλλο διὰ τὴν τῶν προσώπων διαφορὰν, ἀλλ' ἓν, διὰ τὴν συμφωνίαν τῶν εἰρημένων· πῶς οὖν εἶπας «ἕτερον οὐκ ἔστι, φησὶ, ἄλλο» παρὰ τοῦτο· «εἰ μὴ ἄρα τινὲς ὑμᾶς διαταράσσουσι» καὶ ἕτερον κηρύσσουσι. διαστρέψαι ὑμᾶς τοῦ ὀρθοῦ βουλόμενοι· οὐ γὰρ ὑγιὲς ἐστιν ὃ πρὸσφέρουσιν· ἀλλὰ τὰ θεῖα παραχαράττουσι· δείκνυσιν οὖν ὡς καὶ μικρὸν παραποιηθὲν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, τὸ ὅλον λυμαίνεται· καὶ βασιλικῷ γὰρ νομίσματος παρακοπέντος. τὸ ὅλον κίβδηλον γίνεται· εἴτα διαθερμανθεὶς ἐκ τῆς μνήμης τῶν ἐναντίων· καὶ δικαίῳ ζέσας θυμῷ, ἀλλότριον τῆς εὐσεβείας καλεῖ· τὸν ἕτερα κηρύττοντα καὶ βοᾷ·

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**1–3** διὰ πάντων — μετάθεσις] cf. *Typ. Par.* 16.4-9 (Θεοδώρου) [Swete 9]    **3–4** ἐπεὶ γὰρ — πατέρα] not identified    **4–8** δείκνυσιν — ἐλεύθερος] cf. *Typ. Par.* 14.1-17 (Chrys. *PG* 61.620.26-45, comm. 13.1)  
**8–12** δείκνυσιν — τριάδος] cf. comm. 13.2    **12–14** ὥστε — διὰ Χριστοῦ] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.464.33-38 **14–23** ἀνακτωμένου — τοιχωρύχους] cf. *Typ. Par.* 14.27-15.14    **23–33** ἐπεὶ οὖν — εἰρημένων] cf. *Typ. Par.* 15.15-21 (Chrys. *PG* 61.621.38-45)    **33–34** ἕτερον — βουλόμενοι] cf. comm. 15  
**34–35** οὐ γὰρ — παραχαράττουσι] not identified **35–36** δείκνυσιν — γίνεται ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 16.23-27 (Θεοδώρου) **36–38** εἴτα — βοᾷ ] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.464.47-49

<Gal 1.8, 10> *ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν ἡμεῖς ἢ ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εὐαγγελίζεται* (εὐαγγελίζεται A] εὐαγγελίζεται BΓ) *ὕμῖν παρ' ὃ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν. ἀνάθεμα ἔστω*· (ABΓ ante ἄρτι om. Gal 1.9 ὡς προειρήκαμεν, καὶ ἄρτι πάλιν λέγω· εἴ τις ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελίζεται παρ' ὃ παρελάβετε, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω) *ἄρτι γὰρ ἀνθρώπους* (ante ἀρέσκειν om. πείθω ἢ τὸν Θεὸν ; ἢ ζητῶ ἀνθρώποις ABΓ) *ἀρέσκειν· εἰ γὰρ ἔτι ἀνθρώποις* (ἀνθρώποις A] ἀνθρώπους BΓ) *ἤρεσκον. Χριστοῦ δοῦλος οὐκ ἂν ἤμην*·

Ὅρα σύνεσιν ἀποστολικήν· ἵνα γὰρ μή τις λέγῃ ὡς κατὰ κενοδοξίαν τὸ ἴδιον κήρυγμα συγκροτεῖ. τὸ «ἡμεῖς» εἶπε· καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὑποβάλλει τῇ ἀρᾷ καὶ τῷ ἀναθέματι, εἴπερ παραποιῆσαι τι τῶν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου δυνηθεῖ· ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς ἀξιώματα κατέφευγον οἱ ἀπατεῶνες, ἐμνήσθη καὶ ἀγγέλων· μή μοι φησὶ Ἰάκωβον εἶπης καὶ Ἰωάννην καὶ Πέτρον· ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ αἱ ἄνω δυνάμεις παρατρέψαιεν. «ἀνάθεμα ἔστωσαν»· καὶ ἵνα μή τις «ἀγγέλους» τοὺς ἱερεῖς ὑπολάβοι. προστέθηκε τὸ «ἐξ οὐρανοῦ»· καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν ἐὰν ἀνατρέπωσι τὸ πᾶν. ἀλλὰ κἂν τὸ τυχὸν παρακινῶσι· τὸ γὰρ «παρ' ὃ», δηλοῖ τὸ ὅπως δῆποτε μικρόν· ταῦτα δὲ φησὶ ἀπορράψαι τὰ στόματα τῶν ἀπατώντων βουλόμενος· πνεύματι φησὶ ἐκηρύξαμεν· τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα, οὐ μετανοεῖ·

ἄλλος δέ· ὅτι ἀφείς τοὺς ἀποστόλους διὰ τὸ μὴ δόξαι φθόνῳ τοῦτο ποεῖν, πρὸς τὸ μεῖζον τοὺς «ἀγγέλους» ἐχώρησεν· οὐ τοῦτο ὑφορώμενος· μὴ ἐναντία τίς τῶν ἀγγέλων διδάξῃ· ἀλλὰ διὰ τούτου· πᾶσαν ἀνθρώπινην καινοτομίαν ἐκβάλλων· καὶ ἵνα μὴ νομίσῃ τίς θυμῷ εἰρηκέναι τὰ πρότερα μὴ οὕτω κατὰ ἀλήθειαν διακείμενον. δευτεροῖ τὸ ρῆμα· πείθων ὡς τοῦτο κέκριται παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ πέπηγε· καὶ ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ κυρώσας. οὕτως (οὕτως A ] οὕτω BΓ) προήγαγεν· «οἱ γὰρ ἄγγελοι»· κἂν μεγάλοι, ἀλλὰ δοῦλοι· αἱ δὲ γραφαὶ παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότου ἐδόθησαν· συνετῶς δὲ σφόδρα καὶ ἀνεπαχθῶς· οὐχ ὁ δεῖνα ἢ ὁ δεῖνα. ἀλλ' «ἐάν τις εἴπῃ»· καὶ διὰ μὲν τοῦ «ἡμεῖς». πᾶσαν περιέγραψεν οἰκειότητα· διὰ δὲ τοῦ «κἂν ἄγγελος». πᾶν ἀξίωμα· ταῦτα δὲ οὐ τῶν ἀποστόλων καταγινώσκων ὡς ἕτερα κηρυττόντων· εἴτε γὰρ φησὶ ἡμεῖς εἴτε ἐκεῖνοι· ἀλλὰ δεικνύς ὅτι ἀξίωμα προσώπων οὐ προσίετε (προσίετε AB] προσίεται Γ)· ὅτ᾽ ἀνὰ ἀληθείας ὁ λόγος ἦ· μέλλων δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑπομνήσκειν τοῦ ἰδίου εὐαγγελίου. προασφαλίζεται· ἵνα γὰρ μὴ νομίσωσιν ὅτι αὐτοὺς βούλεται πείσαι· καὶ ἄλλοις ἄλλα κηρύττει. ὡς ἐνδιέβαλλον οἱ ἀπατῶντες· ὅτι παρ' ἄλλοις περιτομὴν κηρύσσει. ἐν δὲ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἄλλως ἐξ (ἐξ ABΓ] -Α<sup>c</sup>) [...] καὶ ἀναπέσωσιν ὡς κολακευόμενοι. πρὸς ταύτην ἀπομάχεται τὴν ὑπόνοιαν καὶ φησὶν· πῶς δύναμαι φησὶν ἄλλος ἔξωθεν εἶναι καὶ ἄλλος ἔνδοθεν· θεοῦ ὄντος ἐφόρου· ὥσει ἔλεγε· τὸν θεὸν θέλω πληροφορῆσαι· οὐκ ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσαι· τοιγαροῦν. οὐδὲ ὑμῖν εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἦν· καὶ τοῦ ἰουδαϊσμοῦ ἂν εἰχόμεν ἔτι καὶ φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν· καὶ οὐκ ἂν πάντα καταλιπὼν. Χριστῷ προσέδραμον καὶ τοῖς διωκομένοις συνηριθμούμην·



ἄλλος· ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀπολογούμενος καὶ κατεξανιστάμενος ταῦτα τέθεικεν· οὐ γὰρ δικάζειν τοῖς διδασκάλοις τοὺς μαθητὰς, ἀλλὰ πιστεύειν προσῆκεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ φησὶ ἡ τάξις ἀντέστραπται· μάθετε ὡς ὑμῶν μὲν· οὐ πολλὸς λόγος ἐμοί· διὰ τὸν θεὸν δὲ· πάντα πράττω· ὥστε ἐκείνῳ περὶ τῶν δογμάτων ἀπολογήσασθαι (ἀπολογήσασθαι AB] ἀπολογίσασθαι Γ)· ὁ μὲν γὰρ «ἀνθρώπους πείσαι» θέλων· ὑπουλα πολλὰ ποιεῖ καὶ ἀπάτη κέχρηται· ὁ δὲ θεῷ σπεύδων ἀρέσκειν· ἀπλῆς δεῖται διανοίας καὶ καθαρᾶς· εἰ γὰρ ἤθελον «ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσκειν». ἔτι (ἔτι A] ὅτι BΓ) ἂν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐδίωκον. καὶ διηγεῖται ἐντεῦθεν τὰ περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ κλήσεως λέγων·

1–6 ὅρα σύνεσιν — παρακινῶσι ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 16.33-17.13 (Chrys. PG 61.624.12) 1–3 ἵνα γὰρ — δυνηθείη ] cf. comm. 16 4–5 μή μοι — ἔστωσαν ] cf. comm. 17.1 6–7 τὸ γὰρ — μικρόν ] cf. comm. 18 7–8 ταῦτα δὲ — βουλόμενος ] cf. comm. 17.2 8 πνεύματι — μετανοεῖ ] not identified 9–13 ὅτι ἀφείς — προήγαγεν] cf. Theodoret PG 82.464.50-465.11 11–13 ἵνα μὴ — πέπηγε] cf. comm. 19 13–18 οἱ γὰρ — λόγος ἦ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 17.19-33 (Chrys. PG 61.624.42-625.5) 19 μέλλων δὲ — προασφαλίζεται] not identified 19–22 ἵνα γὰρ — κολακευόμενοι] cf. comm. 20.1 22–23 πρὸς ταύτην — ἐφόρου] cf. *Typ. Par.* 18.18-22, Eusebius of Emesa, *Fr. Gal.* 47.15 23–24 ὥσει — οὐδὲ ὑμῖν ] cf. comm. 20.2 24–25 εἰ γὰρ — προσέδραμον ] cf. comm. 21 25–26 καὶ τοῖς διωκομένοις συνηριθμούμην ] cf. Theodoret PG 82.465.20-21 27–33 ὁμοῦ καὶ — κλήσεως λέγων ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 18.23-19.3 (Chrys. PG 61.625.29-55)

<Gal. 1.11-14> *Γνωρίζω δὲ ὑμῖν ἀδελφοί τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι κατὰ ἄνθρωπον· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ παρά (παρὰ A] παρ’ BΓ) ἀνθρώπου παρέλαβον αὐτὸ· οὔτε ἐδιδάχθην. ἀλλὰ δι’ ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἠκούσατε γὰρ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀναστροφὴν ποτε ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ· ὅτι καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν ἐδίωκον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ ἐπόρθουν αὐτήν· καὶ προέκοπτον (προέκοπτον AB] ἐπρόκοπτον Γ) ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ ὑπὲρ πολλοὺς συνηλικιώτας ἐν τῷ γένει μου· περισσοτέρως ζηλωτὴς ὑπάρχων τῶν πατριῶν (πατριῶν ABΓ] πατρικῶν NA28) μου παραδόσεων·*

Ὅρα πῶς ἄνω καὶ κάτω τοῦτο διΐσχυρίζεται. ὅτι «Χριστοῦ» γέγονε μαθητῆς· οὐκ ἀνθρώπου μεσιτεύσαντος· ἀλλὰ θεοῦ ἀποκαλύψαντος· τίς δὲ ὁ πληροφορῶν ὅτι δι' ἀποκαλύψεως ἐδέξω φησὶ· ἢ προτέρᾳ ἀναστροφή· οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἰ μὴ θεὸς ἦν ὁ ἐκκαλύπτων· οὕτως ἀθρόως μετεβαλόμεν. καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τῆς μανίας ἀκμῇ σεσωφρόνηκα·

ἢ ὡς ἕτερος· ἐπειδὴ ἀμφίβολον ἐγένετο· ποῖον ἐστὶ τοῦ καλέσαντος εὐαγγέλιον οὐχὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀλλὰ ταῖς συκοφαντίαις, «οὐκ ἔστι φησὶ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον» ὡς λέγουσιν ὅτι παρὰ Πέτρου παρέλαβον αὐτοί· χρησίμως λέγων καὶ τὸ «παρέλαβον»· καὶ τὸ «ἐδιδάχθην»· ἃ ἀνθρώποις ἀρμόττει ἡρέμα παραδιδούσιν· ἢ δὲ χάρις, ἀθρόως λαμπρύνει· κατὰ θεὸν γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν ἐμοί· «διὰ γὰρ ἀποκαλύψεως τοῦτο ἔλαβον»· ἵσταται γὰρ ἀεὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνων διαβολὰς· οἱ ἔλεγον ὡς «παρ' ἀνθρώπων» ἔλαβεν τὸ κήρυγμα Παῦλος· οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ· οὐ δεῖ οὖν αὐτῷ πεῖθεσθαι· ὥστε κατ' οὐδὲν ἀποδεῖ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστόλων· ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι παρὰ Χριστοῦ τὴν διδασκαλίαν παρέλαβον. οὕτω καὶ οὗτος «διὰ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀποκαλύψεως»· εἴτα ἐπειδὴ ἠγνόουν οἱ Γαλάται τὴν γενομένην ἀποκάλυψιν. κατασκευάζει διὰ τῆς ἀθρόας μεταβολῆς· ὡς εἰ μὴ θεία τις αὐτῷ γέγονεν ἔλλαμψις, οὐκ ἂν μετεβάλλετο· διὸ καὶ ἠκούσατε εἶπεν. ὅτι διώκτης ἤμην σφοδρόρως· ἐμάθετε φησὶν, οὐκ ἂν οὖν ἡ φήμη οὕτω διέβη σφοδρῶς. εἰ μὴ πολλὴ ἦν ἡ τῶν γινόμενων ὑπερβολή· ὅρῳ ὅπως πάντα μετ' ἐπιτάσεως τίθησι καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνεται; οὐχ ἀπλῶς φησὶν «ἐδίδωκον». ἀλλ' ὥστε καταστρέψαι. ἀφανίσαι· τοῦτο γὰρ «πορθοῦντος» ἔργον· δυσμενῆς ἤμην τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τῷ νόμῳ συνηγορῶν· ἢ «ἀναστροφή» οὖν. τὸ «καθ' ὑπερβολὴν διώκειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν»· ἐπεὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὰ νόμιμα ἐνίστατο· ἐδόκει δὲ ὁ νόμος εἶναι θεοῦ· περὶ δὲ Χριστοῦ ἄλλα ὑπενόητο. οὐκ εἶπεν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Χριστοῦ. ἀλλὰ «τοῦ θεοῦ»· τὸ δὲ «καὶ προέκοπτον»· ἢ ἐν τῇ πορθήσει τῆς ἐκκλησίας· ἥτοι ἐπεδίδουν ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ χαλεπώτερος εἶναι· ἢ «προέκοπτον»· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔντιμος (ἔντιμος ABΓ<sup>c</sup>] ἔτοιμος Γ) ἦν διὰ τοῦτο παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις· τί οὖν τὸ πεῖσαν αἰρήσασθαι με πόλεμον πρὸς τοὺς οὕτω τιμῶντας. εἰ μὴ ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀποκάλυψις· πάλιν δὲ «Ἰουδαϊσμόν» εἶπεν. οὐ νόμον· οὐ βουλόμενος τέως ἀναμνησάμενος τοῦ νόμου, ἵνα μὴ σκληρὸν ᾖ τὸ λεγόμενον· «προέκοπτον» οὖν. ἐπεὶ ζηλωτὴς ἤμην (ἤμην AB] ἡμιν Γ) λίαν «ὑπὲρ πολλοῦς»· πολλοὺς καὶ οὐ πάντας. διὰ τὸ σύμμετρον· «συνηλικιώτας»· διὰ τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν

κατὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐπαίρεσθαι· «ἐν τῷ γένει μου» δέ, ἵνα παραστήσῃ ὅτι ἐκεῖθεν μὲν αὐτῶν ἡ ρίζα. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ὁ καρπὸς· «περισσοτέρως»· ἵνα διὰ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς· ὅσον ἀντέκειτο τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παραστήσῃ. «πατρικῶν δὲ παραδόσεων» εἶπεν καὶ οὐ νομίμων· τὰ γὰρ παρὰ Φαρισαίων προστεθέντα λέγει· καὶ ἐν τούτοις «ζηλωτὴν» ἑαυτὸν λέγει· εἰ «ζηλωτὴς» δὲ οὐκ ἂν κατὰ κενοδοξίαν ἐποίουν φησὶ ἃ ἐποίουν· πῶς ἂν οὖν νῦν κηρύττω ψευδῇ μετὰ τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπίγνωσιν· ἵνα ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσω. καὶ μὴ ἐκεῖνα ἃ ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ παρέλαβον· οὐ γὰρ μισήσας τὸν νόμον ὑπέδραμον τὴν χάριν φησὶ· ἐξεδίκουν γὰρ αὐτὸν· ἀλλ' εὐρὼν τὸ τέλειον· ἀπέστην τοῦ νόμου. οὐκ ἐξισῶν τούτοις ἐκεῖνα·

1-5 ὅρα — ἀκμῇ ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 19.20-20.3 σοφρωνήσας (Chrys. *PG* 61.626.26-46 νήψας) 5-8  
ἐπειδὴ — λαμπρύνει ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 20.16-27 (Eusebius of Emesa *Fr. Gal.* 47.26) 8-11 κατὰ θεὸν —  
πείθεσθαι ] cf. comm. 23 11-13 ὥστε — ἀποκαλύψεως ] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.465.40-43 13-15  
εἶτα — μετεβάλλετο ] cf. comm. 24 16 διώκτης ἤμην σφοδρός ] cf. comm. 25  
16-17 ἐμάθετε — αἰσχύνεται ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 20.3-12 17-18 οὐχ ἀπλῶς — ἔργον ] cf. comm. 26  
19 δυσμενῆς — συνηγορῶν ] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.465.52-468.2 19-31 ἡ ἀναστροφή —  
ἑαυτὸν λέγει ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 20.31-21.15 (Eusebius of Emesa *Fr. Gal.* 47.18-48.18) 21-25 δὲ προέκοπτον  
— ἀποκάλυψις ] cf. comm. 27 26 προέκοπτον οὖν· ἐπεὶ ζηλωτὴς ἤμην ] cf. comm. 28 31-33  
οὐκ ἂν — παρέλαβον ] cf. comm. 29 33-35 οὐ γὰρ — ἐκεῖνα ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 21.16-20 (Severianus *Fr. Gal.* 299.22-25)

<Gal. 1.15-16a> **Ὅτε δὲ εὐδόκησεν ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἀφορίσας με ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς μου· καὶ καλέσας διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοί· ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι** (εὐαγγελίζωμαι AB ] εὐαγγελίζομαι Γ) **αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν·**

Εἰ «ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς» ἀφώριστο (ἀφώριστο ΑΓ] ἀφώριστο Β) γενέσθαι ἀπόστολος, θεία πάντως οἰκονομία τὸν μέσον εἰάθη (εἰάθη ΑΒΓ] ἀφείθη (<αφήμι Chrys)) χρόνον. ἵνα τῇ ἀθρόα μεταβολῇ πολλοὺς πιστώσῃται· «χάριτι δὲ κεκληθῆσθαι» φησὶ· ὥσει ἔλεγεν· ἀνάξιον ὄντα με

κέκληκεν. ἐπὶ τὸ «ἀνακαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ»· αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ὡς σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς ἐκλήθη· λέγει δὲ ἑαυτὸν «χάριτι κεκληῖσθαι», διὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης ὑπερβολὴν· ὡς καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ· ἀλλὰ ἡλεήθη· οὐκ εἶπεν δὲ ἐμοὶ· ἀλλ’ «ἐν ἐμοί» (ἀλλ’ ἐν ἐμοὶ AB] om. Γ)· δηλῶν ὡς οὐ διὰ ῥημάτων μόνον ἤκουσε τὰ περὶ πίστεως· ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοῦ πνεύματος ἐπληρώθη δι’ ἀποκαλύψεως. ὡς τὸν Χριστὸν ἔχειν ἐν αὐτῷ λαλοῦντα· ἢ ὅτι οὐ λόγῳ μόνον αὐτὸν ἔμαθεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ νῶ καὶ καρδίᾳ· εἰς τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον τῆς γνώσεως ἐνιζήσεως·

ἄλλος. «ὅτε εὐδόκησε»· καλῶς αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τὴν προτέραν γνώσιν ἀνήνεγκεν τοῦ θεοῦ· ὥστε καὶ πρὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ ὑπάρξεως· φαίνεσθαι τοῦτο δεδογμένον τῷ θεῷ· τὸ τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ δέον τοῦ καινότητος εἶναί τινα καὶ εὑρεσιν ἀνθρώπων τὸ κήρυγμα· «ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ»· ταύτης μοι τῆς χάριτος μετέδωκε φησὶν ὁ πατὴρ· οὐχ ἵνα τὸν νόμον κηρύττω· ἀλλ’ ἵνα τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἀποκαλύψω τοῖς ἔθνεσιν· ὁρᾷς ὅτι ὁ καλέσας πατὴρ· καὶ ἀποκαλύψας τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ· αὐτὸς αὐτὸν κήρυκα κεχειροτόνηκε καὶ ἀπόστολον· οὐχ ἵνα γνῶ μόνον. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοις τοῦτον εὐαγγελίσηται· (εὐαγγελίσηται A εὐαγγελίσεται B εὐαγγελίσομαι Γ)

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**1-3** εἰ ἐκ — πιστώσεται] cf. comm. 30    **1-2** εἰ ἐκ — χρόνον] cf. *Typ. Par.* 22.10-11 (Chrys. PG 61.627.32-33)    **3-5** χάριτι — κεκληῖσθαι] cf. comm. 31    **5-8** διὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης — λαλοῦντα] cf. *Typ. Par.* 22.22-34    **8-9** λόγῳ — ἐνιζήσεως] cf. comm. 32    **10-12** ὅτε — κήρυγμα] cf. *Typ. Par.* 23.15-19 (“Θεόδωρος”, “καὶ ἄλλος”)    **12-14** ταύτης — ἔθνεσιν] cf. Theodoret PG 82.468.10-15    **14-15** ὁρᾷς — ἀπόστολον] cf. comm. 33    **15-16** οὐχ ἵνα — εὐαγγελίσηται] not identified

<Gal. 1.16b-19> *εὐθέως οὐ προσανεθέμην* (προσανεθέμην A] προανεθέμην BΓ) *σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι· οὐδὲ ἀνῆλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα* (Ἱεροσόλυμα AB] Ἱερωσόλυμα Γ) *πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀποστόλους· ἀλλὰ ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἀραβίαν. καὶ πάλιν ὑπέστρεψα εἰς Δαμασκόν· ἔπειτα μετὰ ἑτῆς τρία· ἀνῆλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἱστορῆσαι Πέτρον· καὶ ἐπέμεινα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡμέρας δεκαπέντε· ἕτερον δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐκ εἶδον· εἰ μὴ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ κυρίου·*

«Τοὺς ἀποστόλους» ἐνταῦθα αἰνίττεται· ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως αὐτοὺς καλῶν· ἢ ὅτι οὐκ ἐστοίχησα θνητῇ σαρκί· ἢ ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθον εἰς λόγους τοῖς ἀποστόλοις περὶ τοῦ κηρύγματος· ἀρκεσθεῖς τῇ θείᾳ ἀποκαλύψει· ταῦτα δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνων λέγει διαβολᾶς, λεγόντων τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἡξιῶσθαι τοῦτον διδασκαλίας, οὐ τοῦ Χριστοῦ· **ἢ οὕτως**· οὐκ ἀπέκλινα πρὸς ῥαστώνην· οὐ δὲ ὥς τι μέγα κατωρθωκῶς εἰς ἄνεσιν ἔπεσον· ἢ ὅτι οὐ προετιμησάμην ἰδεῖν συγγενεῖς ἢ οἰκίαν· «οὐκ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἦλθον». ἀλλ' ἠρκέσθην τῇ δοθείσῃ μοι χάριτι· καὶ εὐθύς τοῦ κηρύγματος ἠψάμην. Ἄραψιν εὐαγγελισάμενος· ταῦτα δὲ οὐ μεγαληγορῶν καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐπαίρων λέγει, ἀλλὰ τῶν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐπαιρόντων ἑαυτοὺς· καταστέλλων τὴν ἄνοιαν· ἀτοπίας γὰρ ἦν· τὸν παρὰ θεοῦ μαθόντα, ἀνθρώποις ἀνατιθέναι λοιπόν· οὐκ ἀπονοίας οὖν, ἀλλ' ὥστε δεῖξαι τοῦ ἰδίου κηρύγματος τὸ ἀξίωμα, εἰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνῆλθεν ἀλλ' οὐ τότε ὥς μαθησόμενός τι ἀπῆλθεν· ἀλλ' ὥς πείσων τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας περὶ τῆς περιτομῆς· ὅρα δὲ ταπεινῶσιν, ὥς μετὰ τοιούτους καὶ τοσοῦτους ἁγῶνας· ἀπῆει «ἱστορήσων Πέτρον» ὥς μείζονα (μείζονα AB] μείζονα Γ)· ὥστε ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ τιμῆσαι τῇ παρουσίᾳ· οὕτω πολλῆς ἄξιον ἡγεῖτο σπουδῆς· καὶ τὸ μόνον ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀποδημῆσαι δι' αὐτὸν τιμῆς ἦν· τὸ δὲ ἐπιμεῖναι τοσαύτας ἡμέρας, φιλίας σφοδρᾶς καὶ ἀγάπης· ὅρα δὲ πῶς ἀσφαλῶς λαλεῖ· «ἐπέμεινα φησὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν». οὐ μὴν ἐδιδάχθην· ἕτερον δὲ οὐκ εἶδον· ὁ δὲ μὴ εἰδῶς, πῶς ἔμαθε παρ' αὐτῶν· «εἶδον δὲ φησὶ καὶ Ἰάκωβον»· εἶδον οὐκ ἐδιδάχθην παρ' αὐτοῦ· οὐκ ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἀδελφός· ἀλλ' ἐνομίζετο· οὐ γὰρ ὥς τινες τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ἦν υἱός· ἀλλὰ τοῦ Κλοπᾶ μὲν υἱός τοῦ Κυρίου δὲ ἀνεψιός· μητέρα δὲ εἶχε τὴν ἀδελφὴν· ἵνα οὖν καὶ τοῦτον ἐπάρῃ· «ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Κυρίου» καλεῖ·

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**1** τοὺς ἀποστόλους — καλῶν ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 23.10-12 (Chrys. PG61.628.37) **1-2** ὅτι οὐκ — σαρκί ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 23.13-14 (Severianus *Fr. Gal.* 300.5) **2-4** οὐκ ἦλθον — Χριστοῦ ] cf. comm. 34 **3-4** ταῦτα δὲ — διδασκαλίας ] cf. Theodoret PG 82.468.18 **4-7** ἢ οὕτως — εὐαγγελισάμενος ] cf. comm. 33a **4-6** οὐκ ἀπέκλινα — ἦλθον] cf. Photius *Fr. Gal.* 605.2 **6-7** ἀλλ' ἠρκέσθην — εὐαγγελισάμενος] cf. Theodoret PG 82.468.29 **7-11** ταῦτα δὲ — περιτομῆς] cf. *Typ. Par.* 24.8-35 (Chrys. PG 61.629.25-630.6) **11-12** ὅρα — μείζονα] cf. comm. 37.1 **13-14** ὥστε — ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν] not identified **14-15** τὸ μὲν — ἀγάπης] cf. *Typ. Par.* 26.5 (Chrys. PG 61.632.5) **15-16** ὅρα δὲ — ἐδιδάχθην] cf. comm. 37.2 **16** ὁ δὲ — παρ' αὐτῶν] cf. comm. 38 **16-17** εἶδον — παρ' αὐτοῦ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 26.12-13

<Gal. 1.20-2.2> ἃ δὲ γράφω ὑμῖν. ἰδοὺ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι οὐ ψεύδομαι· ἔπειτα ἦλθον εἰς τὰ κλίματα τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας· ἤμην δὲ ἀγνοούμενος τῷ προσώπῳ . ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Ἰουδαίας ταῖς ἐν Χριστῷ· μόνον δὲ ἀκούοντες ἦσαν· ὅτι ὁ διώκων ἡμᾶς ποτὲ. νῦν εὐαγγελίζεται τὴν πίστιν ἣν ποτὲ ἐπόρθει (ἐπόρθει AB] ἐπόρθη Γ)· καὶ ἐδόξαζον ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸν θεόν· ἔπειτα διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν· πάλιν ἀνέβην εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα μετὰ Βαρνάβαν· συμπαραλαβὼν καὶ Τίτον· ἀνέβην δὲ κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν· καὶ ἀνεθέμην αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. ὃ κηρύσσω ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν· κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκοῦσι· μήπως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον·

Ὅρα πῶς ἐπαγωνίζεται τῷ λόγῳ. καὶ γὰρ ἐκινδύνευε μὴ εἶναι ἀξιόπιστος πρὸς τὸ κήρυγμα· ὡς ἀνθρώπων ὢν. ἀλλ' οὐ Χριστοῦ μαθητῆς· μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἰδεῖν Πέτρον. πάλιν εἶχετο τῆς πρὸς τὰ ἔθνη ὁδοῦ. πρὸς αὐτὰ γὰρ ἀπέσταλτο· «ἤμην δὲ ἀγνοούμενος» εἶπεν. ὡσανεὶ λέγων· τοσοῦτον ἐκήρυξα τοῖς ἐκ περιτομῆς πεπιστευκόσιν· ὡς οἱ διαβάλλοντες ἔλεγον. ὅτι καὶ ἠγνόουν τὸ πρόσωπόν μου αἱ ἐξ Ἰουδαίων ἐπιστρέψασαι ἐκκλησίαι πρὸς κύριον· οὐκ εἶπεν δὲ ἐπήνουν με ἢ ἐδόξαζον. ἀλλ' «ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεόν»· ταπεινοφρονῶν· τὸ πᾶν φησὶ τῆς χάριτος ἦν· «ἐν ἐμοὶ» δὲ· ἀντὶ τοῦ δι' ἐμὲ· ὅτι ὁ λύκος τὰ ποιμένων ἐργάζεται· «ἔπειτα διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν»· τοῦ μὲν πρῶτον ἀνελθεῖν, εἶπας αἰτίαν εἶναι τὸν Πέτρον· τοῦ δὲ δεύτερον. τὴν «ἀποκάλυψιν»· ἐπήγετο δὲ «καὶ Βαρνάβαν καὶ Τίτον». μάρτυρας τοῦ ἰδίου κηρύγματος· οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν δὲ ἀνέθετο αὐτοῖς. ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοσαῦτα ἔτη· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πολλοὶ ὀρῶντες τοὺς ἀμφὶ Πέτρον συγχωροῦντας τὴν περιτομὴν· τὸν δὲ Παῦλον μὴ συγχωροῦντα ἐσκανδαλίζοντο ὡς διαφωνίας οὔσης ἐν τῷ κηρύγματι. ἀπεκαλύφθη αὐτῷ ἡ πρὸς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἄνοδος· ἵνα πεισθῶσιν οἱ σκανδαλιζόμενοι· ὡς οὐ διαφωνία ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ κηρύγματι, ἀλλ' οἰκονομία· τὸ τὴν περιτομὴν συγχωρηθῆναι· πότε δὲ τοῦτο· ὅτε ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ κηρύσσων σὺν τῷ Βαρνάβᾳ κατὰ χάριν βιοῦν· ἐπεὶ ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων κατήλθον τινὲς πειρώμενοι τὰ τοῦ νόμου κυροῦν· ἀνῆλθε κοινωσόμενος. καὶ κατήλθε κομίσας

γράμματα. μὴ ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς ἔθνεσι τὸν τοῦ νόμου ζυγόν· ἀνῆλθον οὖν φησιν καὶ ἐκοινωσάμην· οὐχ ἵνα αὐτός τι μάθω, ἀλλ' ἵνα διδάξω. ὅτι οὐκ εἰς κενὸν τρέχω· τὸ δὲ «ὁ κηρύσσω». ἀντὶ τοῦ δίχα περιτομῆς· «κατ' ἰδίαν δέ». ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ ἦσαν ἔτι τὸν τοῦ νόμου ζῆλον ἔχοντες· παρρησία μὲν παρελθεῖν καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα ἀποκαλύψαι οὐκ ἠνείχετο. ἵνα μὴ σκανδαλίση· «κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκοῦσιν» ἀνέθετο ἐπὶ Βαρνάβα καὶ Τίτου· ἵν' οὗτοι μάρτυρες ἀξιόπιστοι εἶεν πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκαλοῦντας· ὅτι οὐ δὲ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἔδοξεν ἐναντία ταῦτα εἶναι· ὅταν δὲ λέγῃ «τοῖς δοκοῦσιν». οὐκ ἀναιρῶν τὸ εἶναι μεγάλους τοῦτο λέγει. ἀλλ' οἷον τοῖς ἐπισήμοις· τοῖς κορυφαίοις· μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν κοινὴν πάντων λέγων τὴν (om. τὴν ante ψῆφον Γ) ψῆφον· τὸ δὲ «μήπως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον». οὐ περὶ αὐτοῦ τέθεικεν, ἥδει γὰρ ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων· ἵνα κἀκεῖνοι φησὶ· γινῶσιν τὴν τοῦ κηρύγματος συμφωνίαν. καλῶς δὲ τὸ »ἔδραμον«· προεἰληπτο (προεἰληπτο AB] προεἰληπτω Γ) γὰρ τὸ κήρυγμα. τὸ δὲ «τρέχω»· ἐπεὶ (ἐπεὶ Γ] ἐπὶ AB) ἐνειστήκει (ἐνειστήκει AB] ἐνηστήκει Γ)·

1–2 Ὅρα δὲ πῶς — μαθητῆς ] cf. comm. 40      2–3 μετὰ δὲ — ἀπέσταλτο ] cf. comm. 41  
3–5 τοσούτον — πρόσωπόν μου ] cf. comm. 42      5 αἱ ἐξ Ἰουδαίων — πρὸς Κύριον] cf. comm. 43  
5–7 οὐκ εἶπεν — δι' ἐμὲ ] cf. comm. 44      7 ὁ λύκος — ἐργάζεται ] not identified      7–8 τοῦ μὲν πρῶτον — ἀποκάλυψιν ] cf. comm. 45      8–9 ἐπήγετο — κηρύγματος ] cf. comm. 46      9–13 οὐ παρὰ — συγχωρηθῆναι ] cf. comm. 47      14–16 ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ — ζυγόν ] cf. Theodoret PG 82.469.7-21      15 ἐκοινωσάμην] cf. comm. 47a      16–23 ἀνῆλθον οὖν — ψῆφον ] cf. Typ. Par. 27.23-28.13 (Chrys. PG 61.634.18-51)      22 τοῖς ἐπισήμοις] cf. Theodoret PG 82.469.26-27      23 τοῖς κορυφαίοις] cf. comm. 50      24–25 τὸ δὲ μήπως — συμφωνίαν] cf. Theodoret PG 82.469.30-33      25–27 καλῶς δὲ — ἐνειστήκει] cf. Typ. Par. 28.14-15 (Eusebius of Emesa Fr. Gal. 48.19)

<Gal. 2.3-5> ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Τίτος ὁ σὺν ἐμοί Ἕλληνας ὦν. ἠναγκάσθη περιτμηθῆναι· διὰ δὲ τοὺς παρεισάκτους ψευδαδέλφους· οἵτινες παρεισῆλθον κατασκοπεῖν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῶν, ἣν ἔχομεν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ· ἵνα ἡμᾶς καταδουλώσωνται· οἷς οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν εἵξαμεν τῇ ὑποταγῇ· ἵνα ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου διαμμένη πρὸς ὑμᾶς·

Τὸ ἐξῆς οὕτως· «ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Τίτος ἠναγκάσθη περιτμηθῆναι διὰ τοὺς ψευδαδελφούς»· ὁ γὰρ δὲ. περιττός· «ἐλευθερίαν» δὲ καλεῖ· τὴν ἔξω τοῦ νόμου διαγωγὴν· ἀπόδειξις δὲ τοῦτο σαφές. τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις φυλάττειν τὸν νόμον· τὸν γὰρ ἐξ ἐλλήνων καὶ ἀπερίτμητον. οὐ περιέτεμον (οὐ περιέτεμον A] om. BΓ)· «ψευδαδελφούς» δὲ καλεῖ· τοὺς ἐν σχήματι ἀδελφῶν χριστιανῶν περιτομὴν κηρύσσοντας· οὐδὲ αὐτῶν οὖν φησιν παρόντων ἠναγκάσθη περιτμηθῆναι. ὅρα δὲ πῶς διὰ τοῦ εἰπεῖν «κατασκοπῆσαι» ἐδήλωσε τὸν πόλεμον ἐκείνων· λαθραίως φησὶ παρεισέδυσαν «κατασκοπῆσαι» ζητοῦντες «τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῶν»· ἵν' ἡμᾶς πάλιν τῷ ζυγῷ τοῦ νόμου ὑποβάλλωσι καὶ ταῖς ἰουδαϊκαῖς παρατηρήσεσι· τὸ γὰρ «μὴ τούτοις (τούτοις AB] τούτους Γ) ὑποκεισθαι» ἐλευθερίαν λέγει· διὰ δὲ τοῦ «παρεισῆλθον» καὶ τοῦ «κατασκοπῆσαι». τὸ ἐπίβουλον αὐτῶν καὶ πολέμιον κατὰ τὴν πίστιν (πίστιν BΓA<sup>c</sup>] πίστιν A) ἠνίζατο· εἰς τί δὲ τοῦτο ποιοῦσι φησὶ· «ἵνα ἡμᾶς καταδουλώσωνται»· οἱ μὲν γὰρ περὶ Πέτρον. ἐνεχώρουν τὴν περιτομὴν, ἵνα κατὰ μικρὸν ὑποκλέψωσι τῆς δουλείας τοῦ νόμου· οἱ δὲ. «ἵνα καταδουλώσωνται»· διὰ τοῦτο οὖν φησὶ, οὐκ εἴξαμεν (οὐκ εἴξαμεν AB] οὐχ εἴξαμεν Γ) αὐτῶν τῇ ὑποταγῇ· οὐδὲ ἠνεσχόμεθα πρὸς βραχὺ τῆς αὐτῶν φιλονεικου γνῶμης· «ἵνα ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς κηρύχθέντος εὐαγγελίου» μείνη ἀσάλευτος· τίς δὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια; τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθε· καὶ εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ καινὴ κτίσις· εἰ γὰρ φανερώς (φανερώς AB] φανερῶν Γ) εἶπεν ὅτι οἰκονομικῶς συγχωροῦσι τὴν περιτομὴν, ἀπεσκίρτησαν ἂν οἱ ἐξ Ἰουδαίων πιστοί· ὅτι μὴ ἀλήθεια· ἀλλ' οἰκονομία καὶ συγκαταβάσει ἐδέχοντο τὴν περιτομὴν· οὐκ ἀνακαλύπτει οὖν· ἄλλως (ἄλλως AB] ἄλλ' ὥς Γ) δέ. μεθοδεύει τὸν λόγον ὥς ἂν ἀπομαχόμενος πρὸς τὸν Πέτρον ὅτι φησὶ λόγον δώσουσιν ὧν κηρύσσουσιν· τοῦτο δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀσθένειαν· οὐκ εἶπεν δὲ τῇ διδαχῇ, ἀλλὰ «τῇ ὑποταγῇ»· δηλῶν αὐτοὺς σπουδάζειν ὑποτάξαι καὶ καταδουλώσαι πάλιν τῷ νόμῳ· ὅρα λέξεως εὐγένειαν· οὐ γὰρ ἵνα διδάξωσιν τι χρήσιμον τοῦτο ἐποιοῦν. ἀλλ' ἵνα δουλώσωνται· διὸ ἐκείνοις μὲν «εἴξαμεν». τούτοις δὲ οὐ· ἐπεὶ δὲ εὐθέως ἀντέπιπτεν αὐτῷ τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων· καὶ εἰκὸς ἦν τινὰς λέγειν πῶς οὖν ἐκεῖνοι προστάττουσιν· οὐ λέγει μὲν τὴν οὖσαν αἰτίαν ὅτι δι' οἰκονομίαν. ἐτέρως δὲ μεθοδεύει τὸν λόγον οὕτω λέγων·



1-2 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ — Τίτος διαγωγὴν] cf. Theodoret PG 82.469.46-50 2-3 ἀπόδειξις — ἀπερίτμητον] cf. Theodoret PG 82.469.36-39 4-5 ψευδαδελφούς — περιτμηθῆναι] cf. comm. 53 6-11 ὅρα δὲ πῶς — καταδουλώσονται] comm. 54 (Chrys. PG 61.635.48-636.8, Τγρ. Par. 29.11-19) 11-12 οἱ μὲν γὰρ περὶ — ἵνα καταδουλώσονται] cf. comm. 55 12-16 διὰ τοῦτο — κτίσις] cf. comm. 56 16-20 εἰ γὰρ φανερώς — ἀσθένειαν] cf. comm. 58 20-21 οὐκ εἶπεν δὲ — πάλιν τῷ νόμῳ] comm. 57 21-25 ὅρα λέξεως — ἐκεῖνον περιέτεμον] cf. Chrys. PG 61.636.9-637.19 continues to the next paragraph

<Gal. 2.6-10> ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι τι ὅποιοί ποτε ἦσαν. οὐδὲν μοι διαφέρει· πρόσωπον δὲ (ABΓ add. δὲ post πρόσωπον] om. NA28) Θεὸς ἀνθρώπου οὐ λαμβάνει· ἐμοὶ γὰρ οἱ δοκοῦντες οὐδὲν προσανέθεντο· ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον· ἰδόντες ὅτι πεπίστευμαι (πεπίστευται ABΓ] πεπίστευμαι A<sup>c</sup>B<sup>c</sup>) τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας καθὼς Πέτρος τῆς περιτομῆς· ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργήσας Πέτρῳ εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῆς περιτομῆς· ἐνήργησε καὶ ἐμοὶ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη· καὶ γνόντες τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσαν μοι· Ἰάκωβος καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Ἰωάννης· οἱ δοκοῦντες στῦλοι (στῦλοι ABΓ] στῦλοι NA28) εἶναι. δεξιὰς ἔδωκαν ἐμοὶ καὶ Βαρνάβᾳ κοινωνίας· ἵνα ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰ ἔθνη· αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν περιτομὴν· μόνον τῶν πτωχῶν ἵνα μνημονεύωμεν· ὃ καὶ ἐσπούδασα αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι·

Ἐνταῦθα οὐ μόνον ἀπολογεῖται ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀποστόλων. ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρύνει αὐτοὺς ἵνα ὠφελήσῃ τοὺς ἀσθενούντας· ὃ δὲ λέγει τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· εἰ καὶ ἐπιτρέπουσιν ἐκεῖνοι περιτέμεσθαι. τὸν λόγον αὐτοὶ δώσουσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπειδὴ (ἐπειδὴ] ἐπιδὴ ABΓ) μεγάλοι ἦσαν καὶ ἑξάρχοντες· ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν πρόσωπον λήψεται· ἀλλ' οὕτω μὲν σαφῶς οὐκ εἶπεν πεφεισμένως δὲ· καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν ὅποιοί ποτε εἰσιν. ἀλλ' «ἦσαν»· δεικνὺς ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ λοιπὸν πεπαυμένοι τοῦ οὕτω κηρύττειν· τοῦ κηρύγματος πανταχοῦ διαλάμπαντος· εἶτα ἵνα μὴ δόξῃ ἐναντία λέγειν καὶ μάχης εἰσάγειν ὑπόθεσιν. διορθοῦται διὰ τοῦ εἰπεῖν «ἐμοὶ οἱ δοκοῦντες οὐδὲν προσανέθεσαν»· ἃ μὲν ὑμεῖς λέγετε φησὶν οὐκ οἶδα· τοῦτο δὲ οἶδα ὅτι ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἠναντιώθησαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ συνέπνευσαν. τὸ γὰρ «δεξιὰς ἔδωκαν». τοῦτο δηλοῖ· ἀλλὰ τέως, οὐ λέγει τοῦτο· ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἐδίδαξαν οὐδὲ διόρθωσαν· οὐ

πλέον τι προσέθηκαν ὧν ἤδειν· καὶ ταῦτα εἰδότες ὡς δια τοῦτο παρεγενόμην ὥστε κοινώσασθαι· ἐπαγόμενος καὶ τὸν ἀκρόβυστον· ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐμοί τι πλέον προσέθηκαν· οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνον περιέτεμον·

ἄλλος· ἀπὸ τῶν μεγάλων φησὶν τῶν περὶ Πέτρον· «ὅποιοί ποτὲ ἦσαν»· εἴτε εὐαρεστοῦντες τῷ θεῷ· εἴτε μὴ· διὰ τὸ συγχωρεῖν τὴν περιτομὴν οὐ διαφέρομαι· οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι ἕκαστος λόγον δώσει· καὶ οὐκ ἂν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς διὰ τὸ εἶναι κορυφαίους ἐρυθριάσῃ· οὗτοι οὖν «ἐμοὶ οὐδὲν προσέθεντο»· ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐδὲν προσέθεσαν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ μου· «ἀλλὰ τὸναντίον» καὶ ἐπήνεσαν καὶ «δεξιὰς ἔδωκαν κοινωνίας»· ὁ ἦν δεῖγμα ἀποδοχῆς· αἱ γὰρ δεξιαὶ. τὴν ὁμόνοιαν δηλοῦσιν· ἀλλὰ τὸναντίον· ἡ σύνταξις, μετὰ πολλὰ· ἰδόντες καὶ τὸ. «δεξιὰς ἔδωκαν»· δηλοῦντες ὅτι ἀρέσκονται τῷ ἡμετέρῳ κηρύγματι διὰ τὸ εἶναι ταυτόν· «περιτομὴν» δὲ καὶ «ἀκροβυστίαν»· οὐ τὰ πράγματα λέγει. ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀπὸ τούτων γνωριζόμενα ἔθνη· τὴν γὰρ «περιτομὴν» καλῶν Ἰουδαίους. «ἀκροβυστίαν» λέγει τὰ ἔθνη. καὶ δείκνυσιν ὁμότιμον αὐτοῖς ἑαυτὸν· καὶ οὐ τοῖς ἄλλοις. ἀλλὰ τῷ κορυφαίῳ ἐξισοῖ ἑαυτόν· τούτου γὰρ χρεῖα νῦν ἦν· ἵνα δειχθῇ γαλάταις ἀξιόπιστος· καὶ οὐχ ἴσταται μέχρι τούτου· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ἀνάγει τὸν λόγον καὶ τὴν ὑπ' ἐκεῖνου δοθεῖσαν αὐτῷ χάριν· διὰ τοῦ «γὰρ ἐνεργήσας Πέτρῳ»· καὶ ταύτης τῆς χάριτος μάρτυρας παράγει τοὺς ἀποστόλους· ὅτι γνόντες τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Ἰωάννης· ἀντὶ τοῦ καταμαθόντες δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων. «δεξιὰς ἔδωκαν»· καὶ ὅπου μὲν συγκρίναι ἑαυτὸν ἔδει, Πέτρου μέμνηται μόνου· ὅπου δὲ μάρτυρας ἔδει καλέσαι. τῶν τριῶν· καὶ μετ' ἐγκωμίων· «οἱ δοκοῦντες στῦλοι εἶναι»· οἷον οἱ μεγάλοι· οἱ ἐξαίρετοι, οὗτοι μάρτυρές εἰσι τῶν λεγομένων· ὅτι καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ ταῦτα δοκεῖ. προτέτακται δὲ ὁ «Ἰάκωβος»· διὰ τοῦ τόπου κύριος εἶναι· διατί ποτὲ μὲν «Κηφᾶς». ποτὲ δὲ Πέτρος· οἱ ἐλθόντες εἰς Γαλατίαν καὶ ταραξάντες Ἰουδαῖοι ἦσαν· Πέτρος οὖν ὁ κατ' ἐκείνους «Κηφᾶς» ὀνομαζόμενος· ἵνα οὖν δι' οὗ ἤκουσαν διὰ τούτου καὶ καλέσῃ, εἴρηται· τίς δὲ «ἡ ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν κοινωνία»; ἵνα τὸ κήρυγμα φησὶ διελόμενοι· τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἀμερίστους ἔχωμεν· οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ παρὰ τῶν ἰδίων συμφυλετῶν μὴ πιστευσάντων. διαρπαγέντες διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν· περὶ ὧν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἑβραίους λέγει· καὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὑμῶν μετὰ χαρᾶς προσεδέξασθαι· τὰ τοῦ κηρύγματος οὖν διανεμιάμενος· εἰς τὴν τῶν πτωχῶν τῶν παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις ἐπιμέλειαν. ἐγὼ φησιν τὰ παρ' ἑμαυτοῦ συνήνεγκα· τοῦτο γὰρ

τὸ «ἐσπούδασα»· ἀναγκάζεται δὲ λοιπὸν καὶ τῆς πρὸς Πέτρον διαλέξεως ἐπιμνησθῆναι, λέγων οὕτως·

ἄλλως· ἥδει (ἥδει AB] ἥδη Γ) μὲν ὡς ἀσθενῶς ἔτι διακειμένοις τοῖς ἐξ ἰουδαίων συγκατέβαινον οἱ ἀπόστολοι· ἀλλὰ βλέπων βλαπτομένους τοὺς ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἀντιφθέγγεται· ὁ δὲ Πέτρος· τῇ σιγῇ κυροῖ τὰ λεγόμενα· μονονουχὶ λέγων· δίκαια ἐπιμέμφεται· καὶ ἀντιλέγειν (ἀντιλέγειν ΑΓ] ἀντιλέγειν Β) οὐκ ἔνι· ἐπεὶ οὖν ὁ μὲν ἐμέμψατο· ὁ δὲ κατεδέξατο· Ὁνησιφόρον ἀμφοτέροις κατασκεύασαν φάρμακον·

1–11 ὅρα λέξεως — ἐκεῖνον περιέτεμον] cf. Chrys. PG 61.636.9-637.19 continues from the previous paragraph 12–14 ἀπὸ τῶν μεγάλων — ἐρυθρίαση] cf. comm. 59 15–16 οὐδὲν προσέθεσαν — ἀποδοχῆς] cf. comm. 62 16–17 αἱ γὰρ — πολλά] not identified 17–18 ἰδόντες — ταῦτόν ] cf. comm. 69 18–28 περιτομὴν δὲ — ταῦτα δοκεῖ] cf. Typ. Par. 31.25-32.24 (Chrys. PG 61.638.16-54) 28–31 προτέτακται — εἴρηται] cf. Typ. Par. 28.14-15 (Eusebius of Emesa Fr. Gal. 48.22) 31–33 τὸ κήρυγμα — πίστιν] comm. 69 (Chrys. PG 61.639.23-34, Typ. Par. 33.1-11) 33–35 περὶ ὧν — συνήνεγκα] Chrys. PG 61.639.23-34, Typ. Par. 33.1-11 36–37 ἀναγκάζεται — λέγων οὕτως] Chrys. PG 61.639.52-55, Typ. Par. 33.18-20 38–39 ἥδει — ἀπόστολοι] cf. Theodoret PG 82.472.1-3 39–42 βλαπτόμενους — φάρμακον] cf. Theodoret PG 82.472.22-36

<Gal. 2.11-13> ὅτε δὲ ἦλθε Πέτρος εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν· κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀντέστη· ὅτι κατεγνωσμένος ἦν· πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἐλθεῖν τινὰς ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου· μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν συνήσθιεν· ὅτε δὲ ἦλθον· ὑπέστελλεν καὶ ἀφώριζεν ἑαυτόν, φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς· καὶ συννυπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Ἰουδαῖοι· ὥστε καὶ Βαρνάβας συναπήχθη αὐτῶν τῇ ὑποκρίσει·

Πολλοὶ τῶν ἀπλῶς τὸ χωρίον ἐπιόντων· νομίζουσι τοῦ Πέτρου τὸν Παῦλον κατηγορεῖν ὑπόκρισιν· ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο· πολλὴν γὰρ εὐρήσομεν ἀμφοτέροις ἐνταῦθα κεκρυμμένην σύνεσιν, πρὸς ὠφέλειαν τῶν ἀκουόντων· οἱ ἀπόστολοι ὡς ἔφθην εἰπὼν· ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις μὲν· συνεχώρουν περιτεμνέσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀθρώως ἀποσπᾶσαι τοῦ νόμου· «ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ» δὲ ἐλθόντες· οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον παρετήρουν λοιπὸν· ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐξ ἐθνῶν πεπιστευκόσιν ἀδιαφόρως

συνέζων· ὁ καὶ ὁ Πέτρος ἐποίει τότε· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθον οἱ ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων εἰδότες αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ οὕτω  
 κηρύττοντα, οὐκ ἐποίει τοῦτο φοβοῦμενος πληῖα ἐκείνους· ἀλλ' ἀνέθετο· δύο οἰκονομῶν· καὶ τὸ  
 μὴ σκανδαλίσαι τοὺς ἐξ Ἰουδαίων· καὶ τὸ παρασχεῖν τῷ Παύλῳ· εὐλογον ἐπιτιμήσεως πρόφασιν·  
 εἰ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις κηρύττων μετὰ περιτομῆς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ μετέθετο· ἔδοξεν ἂν  
 φόβῳ τοῦ Παύλου τοῦτο ποιεῖν· καὶ κατέγων ἂν αὐτοῦ πολλὴν εὐκολίαν οἱ μαθηταί· καὶ  
 σκάνδαλον ἔμελλε γίνεσθαι· τῷ μέντοι Παύλῳ· εἰδοῦτι μεταστὰς, οὐ τοσαύτην παρέσχεν  
 ὑπόνοιαν· καὶ γὰρ ἤδει τὴν γνώμην μεθ' ἧς ταῦτα ἐγένετο, διὸ καὶ Παῦλος ἐπιπλήττει καὶ Πέτρος  
 ἀνέχεται· ἵνα ἐγκαλουμένου τοῦ διδασκάλου καὶ σιγῶντος· οἱ μαθηταὶ μετάθωνται· εἰ μὲν γὰρ  
 μηδενὸς γενομένου παρήνευσεν ὁ Παῦλος· οὐδὲν ἂν εἰργάσατο μέγα· νῦν δὲ ἀφορμὴν λαβὼν  
 ἐπιτιμήσεως, πλείονα τοῖς Πέτρου μαθηταῖς φόβον ἐνέθηκεν· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ἀκούων Πέτρος  
 ἀντέλεγεν, καλῶς ἂν τις ἐμέμψατο ὡς τῆς οἰκονομίας ἀνατρεπομένης· νῦν δὲ ἐκείνου μὲν  
 ἐπιτιμῶντος, τούτου δὲ σιγῶντος, πολὺς ὁ φόβος τοῖς ἐξ Ἰουδαίων ἐγένετο· καὶ σκόπει μεθ' ὅσης  
 ἀκριβείας τῷ λόγῳ κέχρηται· διδοὺς τοῖς συνετοῖς, ὡς οὐ μάχης· ἀλλ' οἰκονομίας τὰ ῥήματα· οὐκ  
 εἶπεν «κατεγνωσμένος ἦν» ὑπ' ἐμοῦ· ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων· εἰ γὰρ αὐτὸς κατέγνω, οὐκ ἂν  
 παρητήσαντο τοῦτο εἰπεῖν· καὶ τὸ «κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀντέστην», σχῆμα ἦν· εἰ γὰρ ὄντως ἐμάχοντο.  
 οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ τῶν μαθητῶν ἀλλήλοις ἐπετίμησαν· ἐσκανδάλισαν γὰρ ἂν· νῦν δὲ λυσιτελοῦσα ὥφθη  
 ἢ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ μάχῃ· καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ Παῦλος, εἶξεν αὐτοῖς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, οὕτω καὶ οὗτοι ἐν  
 Ἀντιοχείᾳ· τίς δὲ ἡ κατάγνωσις· πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἐλθεῖν τινὰς ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ὁ  
 διδάσκαλος ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις· μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν συνήσθιεν· «ὅτε δὲ ἦλθον, ἀφώριζεν (ἀφώριζεν A]  
 ἀφώριζεν BG) ἑαυτὸν φοβούμενος· οὐ τοῦτο φοβούμενος μὴ κινδυνεύσῃ· πῶς γὰρ ὁ ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ  
 κηρύγματος οὕτω παρρησιασάμενος, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἀποστῶσι τῆς πίστεως· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ θανάτου  
 φόβος· ἀδιάφορος ἦν αὐτοῖς· ὁ δὲ τῆς (τοῖς Γ) τῶν μαθητῶν ἀπωλείας (ἀπωλείας A] ἀπολείας  
 BG). κατέσειεν αὐτούς· τὸ «ὑπέστελε» δὲ· τῆς τῶν ἐθνικῶν (ἐθνικῶν BG] ἐθνηκῶν A) (add.  
 ἑαυτὸν ante δηλονότι A) ἑαυτὸν δηλονότι συνουσίας· καὶ «ὑπόκρισιν» δὲ τὸ πρᾶγμα καλεῖ· οὐ  
 γὰρ βούλεται ἐκκαλύψαι τὴν γνώμην· ἵνα ἐκεῖνοι διορθωθῶσιν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ σφόδρα τοῦ νόμου  
 ἀντεῖχοντο, καὶ «ὑπόκρισιν» αὐτὸ καλεῖ· καὶ σφόδρα ἐπιπλήττει· ὥστε τὴν πρόληψιν ἀνελεῖν· καὶ  
 ἀκούων Πέτρος συνυποκρίνεται ὡς ἁμαρτάνων· ἵνα ἐν τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιτιμῇσει διορθωθῶσιν·

ἄλλος· «ὅτε δὲ ἦλθε Πέτρος»· οὐ μάχης οὐδὲ καταγνώσεως ἦν τὸν Παῦλον ἀντιστῆναι τῷ Πέτρῳ, ἀλλ' οἰκονομία· ἐπεὶ γὰρ διὰ συγκατάβασιν οἱ περὶ Πέτρον Ἱεροσολύμοις συνεχώρουν τὴν περιτομὴν· βουλόμενοι κατὰ μικρὸν ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον ἀγαγεῖν· «ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν»· ἄχρι μὲν οὐδεὶς ἦν τῶν ἐξ Ἰουδαίων ἐκεῖ πιστὸς, ἀδιαφόρως «μετὰ τῶν πιστευσάντων ἐξ ἐθνῶν συνήσθιεν»· ὅτε δὲ ἦλθον ἐξ Ἱερουσαλήμ. «ὑπέστελλε» τὸ συνεσθίειν· ἵνα μὴ ἀσθενοῦντας σκανδαλίση· φανερώς δὲ «ἀντέστη»· ἵνα ὀρῶντες οἱ ἐξ ἰουδαίων τὸν διδάσκαλον ἐγκαλούμενον· τί δήποτε μὴ σύνεστι τοῖς ἀκροβύστοις καὶ μὴ ἀντιλέγοντα. γινῶσι λοιπὸν ὥς οὐ χρειώδης ἡ παρατήρησις τοῦ νόμου μετὰ τὴν πίστιν· καὶ μεταθῶνται τῆς παρατηρήσεως· Εὐσέβιος δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησιαστικῇ Ἱστορίᾳ λέγει· μὴ εἶναι τοῦτον τὸν «Κηφᾶν» τὸν Πέτρον. ἀλλ' ἄλλον ὁμώνυμον (ὁμώνυμον Α] ὁμόνυμον ΒΓ) ἓνα τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα (ἐβδομήκοντα Α] Ο' ΒΓ) καὶ πιθανὸς ὁ λόγος· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν μετὰ τὸ πείραν δοῦναι τὸν Πέτρον τῆς οἰκείας ἀρετῆς, τοιαύτης ἐδεήθη ὑποστολῆς καὶ οἰκονομίας· καὶ τὸ «κατεγνωσμένος ἦν»· οὐ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ οὐδὲ παρὰ Παύλου τοῦ τὴν οἰκονομίαν εἰδότος (εἰδότος Α] εἰδότως ΒΓ)· ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῶν ἀγνοούντων καὶ οἰομένων ὑποκρίνεσθαι διὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα· ἢ οὕτως· γέγονεν ἐμοὶ φησὶ πρόφασις τοῦ κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀντιστῆναι. ἢ περὶ τοῦ συνεσθίειν τοῖς ἀκροβύστοις αἰτία· ὁ δὲ προκατεγνωσμένος ἦν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰκῇ· διὰ τὰ περὶ Κορνήλιον. διὸ καὶ νῦν ὑπεστάλη· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ὑπεστάλη, οὐκ ἦν χρεῖαν τοῦ ἐλέγχου· εὐκαίρως οὖν ἐλέγχθη ἔμπροσθεν πάντων· τὸ ἡμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ ἐξῆς· εἰ γὰρ ἰδικόν τι σφάλμα ἦν· ἰδίᾳ ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐνεκάλεσεν καὶ διορθώσατο· «λοιποὺς δὲ Ἰουδαίους». τοὺς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ λέγει ἐκ περιτομῆς· οἱ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀφώρισαν ἑαυτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀκροβύστων. διὰ τοὺς ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου·

1–32 πολλοὶ τῶν ἀπλῶς — ἐπιτιμήσει διορθωθῶσιν] *Typ. Par.* 33.29–35.19, *Chrys. PG* 61.640.2–641.55

28–29 τὸ ὑπέστελλε δὲ — συνουσίας] cf. *comm.* 73      33– 40 οὐ μάχης — παρατηρήσεως] cf. *comm.* 70      40–48 Εὐσέβιος — ἐλέγχου] cf. *comm.* 70a      44–46 κατεγνωσμένος — διὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα] cf. *comm.* 71      48–50 εὐκαίρως — καὶ διορθώσατο] cf. *comm.* 70b      50–51 λοιποὺς δὲ Ἰουδαίους — Ἰακώβου] cf. *comm.* 75

<Gal. 2.14-16> *ἀλλ' ὅτε εἶδον ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθοποδοῦσι πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου. εἶπον τῷ Πέτρῳ ἔμπροσθεν πάντων· εἰ σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ὑπάρχων ἐθνικῶς ζῇς καὶ οὐκ ἰουδαϊκῶς· τί τὰ ἔθνη ἀναγκάζεις ἰουδαΐζειν;* («·» ABΓ) *ἡμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι. καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοί. εἰδότες* (NA28 δὲ ante ὅτι] om. ABΓ) *ὅτι οὐ δικαιоῦται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου ἐὰν μὴ διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπιστεῦσαμεν· ἵνα δικαιωθῶμεν ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ· καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου· διότι οὐ δικαιωθήσεται ἐξ ἔργων νόμου πᾶσα σὰρξ·*

Μὴ θορυβήτω ἡ λέξις· οἷα γὰρ διανοία εἴρηται τὸ συνυπεκρίθη, ταύτη καὶ τὸ «οὐκ ὀρθοποδοῦσιν»· οὐ γὰρ βούλεται τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἀνακαλύψαι· σχηματίζει οὖν τὴν λέξιν, ὡς συμφέρον ἦν ἐκείνοις ἀκοῦσαι· οὐ γὰρ πρὸς ὕβριν Πέτρου τοῦτο εἶπεν. ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς τούτου ἐπιτιμήσεως, ἐκείνους ποιεῖ βελτίους· «ἀλήθειαν δὲ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου». τὴν ἔξω τοῦ νόμου λέγει πολιτείαν· τὸ μὴ περιτέμνειν· τὸ μὴ χωρίζειν τῶν ἐξ ἀκροβυστίας πιστῶν· οὐκ ἔνι γὰρ Ἑλλήν ἢ Ἰουδαῖος· «ἔμπροσθεν δὲ πάντων» ἢ μέμπις· οὐχ ἵνα Πέτρου καταγνῶ, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐκείνους ὠφελήσῃ· τίς οὖν ἡ ἐπιτίμησις· «εἰ σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ὢν ἐθνικῶς ζῇς»· εἰ σὺ κατὰ νόμον δεξάμενος τὴν περιτομήν· τὴν ἔξω τοῦ νόμου πολιτείαν (πολιτείαν A] om. BΓ) μετέρχη. «τί τὰ ἔθνη ἀναγκάζεις». τὸν νόμον πληροῦν· «τὰ ἔθνη» δὲ εἶπε καὶ οὐκ Ἰουδαίους· ἵνα δείξῃ τῶν οἰκείων κηδόμενος μαθητῶν τοῦτο λέγειν· καὶ μὴ ἀνακαλυφθῇ ἡ οἰκονομία δι' ἣν ἡ ἔγκλησις· εἰ μὲν γὰρ εἶπεν κακῶς ποιεῖς τὸν νόμον τηρῶν· ἐπετίμησαν ἂν οἱ ἐξ Ἰουδαίων. ὡς θρασυνομένου κατὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου· νῦν δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν οἰκείων αὐτῷ ἐγκαλῶν μαθητῶν τῶν ἐξ ἐθνῶν λέγω· εὐπαράδεκτον ποιεῖται τὸν λόγον· «εἰ σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ὢν»· μονονουχὶ διαρρήδην βοῶν· μιμήσασθε τὸν διδάσκαλον· καὶ αὐτὸς γὰρ Ἰουδαῖος ὢν. ἐθνικῶς (ἐθνηκῶς A] ἐθνικῶς BΓ) ζῇ· ἀλλ' οὕτω μὲν οὐ λέγει· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐδέξαντο· οὐ προσσχίματι (προσχίματι] προσσχίματι ABΓ) δὲ ἐπιτιμήσεως τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐθνῶν. ὃ ἐβούλετο ἡνυсен· ὁ σιγήσας Πέτρος, κατώρθωσε. καταδεξάμενος ὑποκρίσεως δόξαν λαβεῖν, ἵν' ἀληθοῦς ὑποκρίσεως ἀπαλλάξῃ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους· ἥδει γὰρ τὴν γνώμην μεθ' ἧς ὁ Παῦλος ἐπετίμα. διὸ καὶ σιγᾷ· καὶ ἡ τούτου σιγῇ, διδασκαλία τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις γέγονε. τοῦ μηκέτι τῶν νομίμων ἔχεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὁ διδάσκαλος ἐσίγησέ φησιν, εἰ μὴ συνήδει δικαίως ἐπιτιμῶντι

τῷ Παύλῳ· ἐλέγχει δὲ αὐτὸν. καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς προτέρας ἀναστροφῆς· ἵνα μὴ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Παύλου γνώμης ἢ συμβουλῇ· ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς Πέτρου κρίσεως τῆς ἤδη γεγενημένης εἰσηγηθῆναι δοκῇ (δοκῇ AB] δοκεῖ Γ)· τί λέγων «ἡμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι»· «ἡμεῖς» οἱ ἐκ προγόνων· οἱ ἄνωθεν τοῦτο τὸ γένος αὐχοῦντες· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ «φύσει»· καὶ οὐ προσήλυτοι· ἐπεὶ ἔγνωμεν ὡς οὐχ οἷόν τε ἐκ τοῦ νόμου καρπώσασθαι τὴν ἀληθῆ δικαιοσύνην, τῷ Χριστῷ πεπιστεύκαμεν· καὶ τοῦ νόμου καθάπαξ ἀπέστημεν· ποίαν οὖν ἔχομεν ἀπολογίαν ἐτέρους εἰς τοῦτο ἔλκοντες· ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰτίαν λέγει τῆς ἀποστάσεως εὐλογον· ποίαν; εἰδότες ὅτι «οὐ δικαιоῦται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου»· «ἔργα δὲ νόμου», τὸ περὶ Σαββάτων καὶ περιτομῆς καὶ γονορρυιοῦς, ἃ αἰνίγμα (αἰνίγματα A] αἰνίγμα B) ἦν ἐτέρων· ὧν ἡ μὲν παράβασις ἁμαρτία· ἡ δὲ φυλακὴ οὐ δικαιοσύνης τελείωσις· ἡ ἔργων εἶπεν· διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπάχθειαν· ὅρα δὲ πῶς ἀσφαλῶς φθέγγεται· οὐχ ὡς πονηρὸν ἀλλ' ὡς ἀσθενῆ φησὶ αὐτὸν εἰάσαμεν (εἰάσαμεν AB] εἶασεν Γ)· εἰ τοίνυν ἐξ ἔργων οὐδεὶς δικαιоῦται τῶν πόνον φερόντων· «ἐκ δὲ πίστεως»· ὅπου τὸ τῆς εὐκολίας καὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης μέγα· πῶς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἐάσαντας τὸν νόμον· ἀρκεῖσθαι τῇ χάριτι· ἐξ ἔργων δὲ λέγει μὴ δικαιоῦσθαι· καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐντολῶν· ἡ γὰρ ἐντολὴ δικαιοῖ ἀκουομένη· τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἦν δυσκατόρθωτον·

1–4 μὴ θορυβῆτω ἡ λέξις — βελτίους] *Typ. Par.* 35.30, *Chrys. PG* 61.642.3 1–2 οἷα γὰρ — ἀνακαλύψαι] cf. *comm.* 76 4–5 τὴν ἔξω — πολιτείαν] cf. *Theodoret PG* 82.493.1 4–6 ἀλήθειαν — ἡ Ἰουδαίος] cf. *comm.* 77 6–7 ἔμπροσθεν — ὠφελήσῃ] cf. *comm.* 78 7–9 τίς οὖν ἡ ἐπιτίμησις — οὐκ Ἰουδαίους] not identified 9–10 ἵνα δείξῃ — ἔγκλησις] cf. *comm.* 80 10–17 εἰ μὲν γὰρ — ἀπαλλάξῃ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους] *Chrys. PG* 61.642.21–44, *Typ. Par.* 36.11–27 17–21 ἦδει γὰρ — εἰσηγήνεσθαι δοκῇ] *Typ. Par.* 38.1–9, *Chrys. In illud: In faciem ei restiti PG* 51.385.48ff. 22–24 ἡμεῖς φύσει — πεπιστεύκαμεν] cf. *Theodoret PG* 82.473.2–6 24–26 καὶ τοῦ νόμου — εὐλογον ποίαν] not identified 26–28 εἰδότες — τελείωσις] cf. *Theodoret PG* 82.473.14–21 29 διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπάχθειαν] *comm.* 81a 29–30 ὅρα δὲ — εἰάσαμεν] *Typ. Par.* 39.11, *Chrys. PG* 61.643.21 30–33 εἰ τοίνυν — δυσκατόρθωτον] *Typ. Par.* 39.17–22 (Σευηριανοῦ)

<Gal. 2.17-18 > *εἰ δὲ ζητοῦντες δικαιωθῆναι ἐν Χριστῷ εὐρέθημεν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἁμαρτωλοί· ἄρα Χριστὸς ἁμαρτίας διάκονος· μὴ γένοιτο· εἰ γὰρ ἃ κατέλυσεν ταῦτα πάλιν οἰκοδομῶ, παραβάτην ἑμαυτὸν συνίστημι·*

Εἰ τὸν νόμον καταλιπόντες φησὶ Χριστῷ προσήλθομεν· διὰ τῆς ἐπ’ αὐτὸν πίστεως· δικαιοσύνης τυχεῖν προσδοκῆσαντες· παράβασιν δὲ τοῦτο νενόμισται ὡς φασὶν οἱ ἰουδαῖζοντες· εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν ἄρα ἡ αἰτία χωρήσει· ὅς ἡμῖν τὴν καινὴν ὑπέδειξεν· ἀλλὰ μὴ γένοιτο· εἰς ἄτοπον γὰρ τὸν λόγον ἀπαγαγὼν· οὐκ ἐδεήθη κατασκευῆς πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν· ἀλλ’ ἠρκέσθη τοῦ τῇ ἀπαγορεύσει τὸ ἄτοπον ἀνελεῖν· πρὸς γὰρ τὰ λίαν σαφῆ καὶ ἀναίσχυντα· οὐ χρεῖα κατασκευῆς· ἀλλὰ μόνον ἀπαγορεύσεως· εἴτα κατασκευάζει τοῦτο καὶ δι’ ἐτέρων οὕτω λέγων· «εἰ γὰρ ἃ κατέλυσεν»· οἷον ἀφέντες τὸν νόμον· κατεφύγομεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκ πίστεως σωτηρίαν· καταλύσαντες αὐτὸν· τὸ ἐάσαι αὐτὸν καὶ Χριστῷ προσδραμεῖν· ἃν οὖν πάλιν ἐπιχειρῶμεν ἰστᾶν αὐτὸν παραβάται ἐσμέν· ὅτι τὰ καταλυθέντα ὑφ’ ἡμῶν ἐπιχειροῦμεν ἰστᾶν· ἢ τὰ παρὰ θεοῦ λυθέντα φύλονεικοῦντες τηρεῖν· ὅρα δὲ ὡς σοφῶς τὴν κατηγορίαν ἀντέστρεψεν· ἐκείνων γὰρ παράβασιν νόμου ἐγκαλούντων, αὐτὸς παράβασιν κέκληκε τοῦ νόμου τὴν φυλακὴν·

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**1–3** εἰ τὸν νόμον — μὴ γένοιτο] cf. Theodoret PG 82.473.27-34      **3–6** εἰς ἄτοπον — ἀπαγορεύσεως] cf. Typ. Par. 39.33-40.4 (Chrys. PG 61.644.41-49)      **7–10** οἷον ἀφέντες — τηρεῖν] cf. Typ. Par. 40.7-13 (Chrys. PG 61.645.1-4, Damasc. PG 95.789.37-40)      **7–9** καταλύσαντες — ἰστᾶν] cf. comm. 84      **10–11** ὅρα δε — φυλακὴν] cf. Theodoret PG 82.473.42-46

<Gal. 2.19-20a> *ἐγὼ γὰρ διὰ νόμου νόμῳ ἀπέθανον, ἵνα θεῷ ζήσω· Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι· ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ, ζῇ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστὸς·*

Διπλὴν ἔχει τοῦτο θεωρίαν· ἢ γὰρ «νόμου» τοῦ τῆς χάριτος φησὶν ὡς ὅτ᾽ ἀν λέγει ὁ νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος· ἢ «νόμον» τὸν παλαιὸν λέγει· δεικνὺς ὅτι «διὰ τούτου τοῦ νόμου· τῷ νόμῳ



ἀπέθανεν»· αὐτός με φησὶν ὁ νόμος ἐνήγαγεν εἰς τὸ μῆκέτι προσέχειν αὐτῷ· εἰπὼν περὶ Χριστοῦ· τὸ προφήτην ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει κύριος· εἰ τοῖνυν μέλλοιμι αὐτῷ προσέχειν· καὶ αὐτὸν παραβαίνω· ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὖν εἰμὶ νεκρὸς, οὐ γὰρ πολιτεύομαι κατ' ἐκεῖνον. τοῖς δὲ τούτου δόγμασιν ἔπομαι· ἢ ὥς προεῖρηται τοῦτο φησὶ· ὅτι διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελικοῦ νόμου ἀπέθανον τῷ μωσαϊκῷ· πῶς οὖν ὁ νεκρωθεὶς καὶ ἀνενεργήτως ἔχων πρὸς αὐτὸν· φυλάξω αὐτὸν· τὸν διὰ τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ δυσχερῶν παρατηρήσεων νεκρώσαντά με τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ καὶ ἀποκτείναντα· «ἵνα γὰρ φησι θεῷ ζήσω»· «Χριστῷ» διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος «συνεσταύρωμαι»· (ΒΓ συνεστρωμαι) ἐπεὶ γὰρ εἶπεν «ἀπέθανον»· ἵνα μὴ τις εἴπῃ πῶς οὖν ζῆς, ἐπήγαγε καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ζωῆς· καὶ ἔδειξεν ὅτι ὁ μὲν νόμος ζῶντα ἀπέκτεινεν· ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς νεκρὸν λαβὼν διὰ τοῦ θανάτου ἐζωοποίησε· τῷ μὲν οὖν εἰπεῖν «Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι»· τὸ βάπτισμα ἠνίζατο· τῷ δὲ εἰπεῖν «ζῶ δὲ οὐκ ἔτι ἐγὼ»· τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα πολιτείαν δι' ἧς νεκροῦται τὰ μέλη ἡμῶν· τὴν προτέραν φησὶ ἀπεθέμην ζωὴν· εἰς ἑτέραν μεταβέβηκα· τοῦτο οὖν πολιτεύομαι. οὐ περίκειμαι τὴν ζωὴν· «ζῆ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστὸς» ἐνεργῶν καὶ δεσπόζων καὶ «ἐν ἐμοὶ» μὴ ἔδῳ γίνεσθαι τῶν μὴ δοκούντων αὐτῷ· ὥσπερ γὰρ θάνατον λέγει οὐ τὸν κοινὸν ἀλλὰ τὸν (τὸν ΑΒ] τῶν Γ) ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, οὕτω καὶ ζωὴν τὴν ἐκείνων ἀπαλλαγὴν· θεῷ γὰρ οὐκ ἄλλως ἐστὶ ζῆν. ἢ νεκρωθέντα τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ· ἐπεὶ γὰρ εὐήνιον ἑαυτὸν τῷ Χριστῷ κατεσκεύασε καὶ πάντα ἐξέβαλε τὰ βιωτικά. καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐκείνου θέλημα πάντα ἔπραττεν, εἰκότως φησὶ ζῆν ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν Χριστὸν· ὃ τίς ἂν ἄλλος εἰπεῖν τολμήσειεν·

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1–4 διπλὴν — παραβαίνω] cf. *Typ. Par.* 40.27–41.2 (Chrys. *PG* 61.645.6–18) 5 ἐκείνῳ μὲν — ἔπομαι] cf. *comm.* 85a 6–8 ὅτι διὰ τοῦ — ἀποκτείναντα] cf. *comm.* 86 9 Χριστῷ διὰ τοῦ — συνεσταύρωμαι] cf. *Theodoret PG* 82.473.54 9–13 ἐπεὶ γὰρ — μέλη ἡμῶν] cf. *Typ. Par.* 41.16–30, Chrys. *PG* 61.645.35–50 13–14 τὴν πρότεραν — τὴν ζωὴν] cf. *Theodoret PG* 82.476.2–3 14–15 ζῆ δὲ — δοκούντων αὐτῶν] cf. *comm.* 88 15–19 ὥσπερ γὰρ — ἔπραττεν] cf. *Typ. Par.* 41.29–42.15, Chrys. *PG* 61.645.52–646.15 19 εἰκότως — τολμήσειεν] not identified

<Gal. 2.20b> ὁ δὲ νῦν (νῦν A] om. BΓ) ζῶ ἐν σαρκί· ἐν πίστει ζῶ τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντός με· καὶ παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἑμοῦ·

Οὐ μόνον ἡ νοητὴ ζωὴ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ αἰσθητὴ διὰ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν ἐδωρήθη μοι πίστεως· καὶ διὰ τῆς θνητῆς ταύτης ἐκείνην τῇ πίστει ὁρῶ·

ἢ οὕτως· πιστεύω εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ· εἰ δὲ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ᾧ πιστεύω. ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐστίν· ἐν οὐρανοῖς πολιτεύομαι· ὁ δὲ νόμος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἶχε τὴν τήρησιν· οὐκ ἄρα νόμῳ ὑπόκειμαι. ἢ ὅτι ὑπὸ ἀπόφασιν ὦν διὰ τὸν νόμον· πάντες γὰρ ἡμάρτον φησὶν· καὶ μέλλων ἀποθνήσκειν ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ· διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ θανάτου· ἡρπάγην ἐγὼ τοῦ θανάτου· εἶτα πυρωθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πόθου καὶ μνησθεὶς τίνων ἀπήλλαξεν αὐτὸν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ τίνα ἐχαρίσατο· τὸ κοινὸν ἰδιοποιεῖται· τοῦ «παραδόντος» λέγων ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἑμοῦ· δεικνὺς τοσαύτην ἕκαστον δεῖν ὁμολογεῖν χάριν τῷ Χριστῷ· ὡς εἰ δι' αὐτὸν μόνον ἐνηνθρώπησε καὶ ἔπαθεν· εἶτα ἐκεῖνος μὲν φησιν οὕτως ἡγάπα. ὡς καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ σοῦ παραδοῦναι· καὶ ἀνέλπιστον ὄντα σωτηρίας, εἰς τοιαύτην ζωὴν ἐπανήγαγε· σὺ δὲ μετὰ τοσαῦτα ἀγαθὰ· πρὸς τὰ παλαιὰ παλινδρομεῖς; θεὸς οὖν τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν λογισμῶν. λοιπὸν ὡς ἐν ἀποφάσει σφοδρῶς ἀνακηρύττει λέγων· «οὐκ ἄθετῶ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ»· οὐ λέγω φησὶ ὅτι μετὰ τὴν χάριν χρεῖα νομίμων· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστίν. ὅτι ἡ χάρις οὐδὲν ἰσχύει· ὁ γὰρ κατὰ νόμον πολιτευόμενος. ἀτιμάζει τὴν χάριν ὡς οὐκ ἄρκοῦσαν πρὸς σωτηρίαν· καὶ «ἄθετεῖ»· (ἄθετεῖ A] om. BΓ ως homioioarkton) ἄθετεῖν δέ ἐστι. τὸ ἀπιστεῖν· τὸ εὐτελίζειν (εὐαγγελίζειν A / εὐτελίζειν B<sup>c</sup> Γ<sup>c</sup> / εὐ[.erasure.]ελίζειν BΓ) τὸ διαπαίζειν·

1 οὐ μόνον — πίστεως] cf. comm. 89      1–2 καὶ διὰ τῆς — πίστει ὁρῶ] not identified      3–5 πιστεύω εἰς — ὑπόκειμαι] cf. *Typ. Par.* 42.27–30 (Severianus *Fr. Gal.* 300.23)      5–8 ὑπὸ ἀπόφασιν — ὑπὲρ ἑμοῦ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 43.32–44.3 (Θεοδώρου), (Chrys. *PG* 61.646.57–647.3)      6–8 εἶτα πυρωθεὶς — ἰδιοποιεῖται] cf. *Typ. Par.* 43.32–44.3 (Θεοδώρου), (Chrys. *PG* 61.646.57–647.3)      8–9 δεικνὺς τοσαύτην — ἐνηνθρώπησε] cf. comm. 909–13 εἶτα ἐκεῖνος — χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 44.13–19, Chrys. *PG* 61.647–648      13–14 οὐ λέγω — ἰσχύει] cf. *Typ. Par.* 44.21–23 (Eusebius of Emesa *Fr. Gal.* 49.5)      14 ὁ γὰρ κατὰ — σωτηρίαν] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.476.11–13      15–16 ἄθετεῖν — διαπαίζειν] cf. comm. 91

<Gal. 2.21b> (οὐκ ἄθετόν τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ ante εἰ γὰρ NA28] om. ABΓ ) *εἰ γὰρ διὰ νόμου δικαιοσύνη, ἄρα Χριστὸς δωρεὰν ἀπέθανε*·

Τί τούτων τῶν ῥημάτων ἐντρεπτικότερον· εἰ ὁ νόμος φησὶ δικαιοῖ καὶ εἰς κτῆσιν δικαιοσύνης ἀρκεῖ, περιττός ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ θάνατος· διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ παρέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν. ὥς τοῦ νόμου μὴ ἰσχύοντος· ὥς εἴ γε σώζειν ἡδύνατο ἐκεῖνος περιττός ὁ τούτου θάνατος· ἐννοήσας οὖν τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀτοπίας· καὶ ὕβρει κατ' αὐτῶν κέχρηται βαρυθυμῶν· μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν περὶ τῆς πρὸς πέτρον διαλέξεως· οὕτω λέγων·

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**1** τί τούτων τῶν ῥημάτων ἐντρεπτικότερον] not identified      **1–2** εἰ νόμος — Χριστοῦ θάνατος] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.476.14–16 **2–3** διὰ τοῦτο — τούτου θάνατος] cf. comm. 92 **3–4** ἐννοήσας — βαρυθυμῶν] cf. *Typ. Par.* 44.26–32 (Chrys. *PG* 61.648.20–24)      **4–5** βαρυθυμῶν — οὕτω λέγων] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.476.18

<Gal. 3.1–2> *ἽΩ ἀνόητοι Γαλάται· τίς ὑμᾶς ἐβάσκηγε* (ἐβάσκανεν NA28) *τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι* (BYZ] om. NA28) · *οἷς κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς προεγράφη ἐν ὑμῖν ἐσταυρωμένος· τοῦτο μόνον θέλω μαθεῖν ἀφ' ὑμῶν· ἐξ ἔργων νόμου τὸ πνεῦμα ἐλάβετε· ἢ ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως;*

Ἀποδείξας ἑαυτὸν μὴ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ παρὰ Χριστοῦ δεδιδασμένον· καὶ ἀξιόπιστον καταστήσας ἑαυτὸν διδάσκαλον, μετὰ πλείονος λοιπὸν τῆς ἀυθεντείας διδάσκει· σύγκρισιν νόμου ποιούμενος καὶ πίστεως· καὶ ἀρχόμενος μὲν θαυμάζω ἔλεγεν ὅτι «οὕτω μετατίθεσθε»· νῦν δὲ καὶ «ἀνοήτους» αὐτοὺς καλεῖ· οὐ τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ νόμου καταφρονῶν. τοῦ μὴ καλεῖν μωρὸν τὸν ἀδελφὸν παρακελευομένου. οὐ γὰρ ἀπλῶς εἴρηται κακεῖ· ἀλλ' ὁ εἰκῇ καλῶν· ἰδὼν (ἰδὼν A] ἰδὼν BΓ) γὰρ τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ θάνατον περιττὸν ἀποφαίνοντα. ἐπάγει τὴν ἐπιτίμησιν· καὶ οὐδὲ τότε

ἀξίως· χαλεπωτέρων γὰρ ῥημάτων ἦσαν ἄξιοι· ἀλλ' ἀνόητους καλεῖ· ἀνόητων γὰρ τὸ ἀφεῖναι Χριστὸν καὶ ἔχεσθαι νόμου· θεὰ δὲ καὶ πῶς εὐθέως καθυφίησι πλήξας· οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν τίς ἠπάτησεν, ἀλλ' «ἐβάσκηνεν»· δεικνὺς ὅτι φθόνου ἄξια ἔπραττον πρότερον· καὶ δαίμονος ἐπήρεια τὸ γενόμενον ἦν· μετ' εὐφημίας τοίνυν ἢ παροινία· βασκαίνει γὰρ τις, εὐπόρῳ οὐ πένητι· εὐημεροῦντι· οὐ δυσπραγοῦντι· (δυσπραγοῦντι AB] δείσπραγοῦντι Γ) καὶ ὀλοφύρεται· ὡς τὸν (τὸν AB] τὸ Γ) συνειλεγμένον κενώσαντα πλοῦτον· τὸ δὲ «οἷς κατ' ὀφθαλμοῦς» εἶπεν· τῆς πίστεως δεικνὺς τὴν ἰσχὺν ὡς καὶ τὰ πόρρωθεν δυναμένης ὁρᾶν· καίτοι γε ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐσταυρώθη (ἐσταυρώθη A] ἐστρώθη BΓ)· ἀλλ' οὕτω φησὶ ἐπιστεύσατε, ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν σταῦρον τοῦ Χριστοῦ θεασάμενοι· «προεγράφη» δὲ εἶπεν οὐκ ἐσταυρώθη (ἐσταυρώθη A] ἐστρώθη BΓ) τουτέστι διὰ τῆς τοῦ κηρύγματος γραφῆς· ὥσει ἔλεγεν· τὸ μὲν κήρυγμα· ἐξωγράφησεν ὑμῖν τὸν σταῦρον· ὑμεῖς δὲ τοῖς τῆς πίστεως ὀφθαλμοῖς, ὡς παρόντα αὐτὸν εἶδετε· ταῦτα δὲ, καθαπτόμενος λέγει· ὅτι ὃν εἶδον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γυμνωθέντα· ἀνεσκολοπισμένον· τᾶλλα· πάντα γὰρ ἐδήλωσε διὰ τοῦ «προεγράφη»· τοῦτον ἀφέντες, εἰς τὸν νόμον ἔδραμον, οὐδὲν αἰδεσθέντες τῶν παθημάτων· εἶτα παράλληλα τίθησι, τὴν χάριν καὶ τὸν νόμον· καὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις παράγει· διὰ τοῦ εἰπεῖν «τοῦτο μόνον θέλω μαθεῖν»· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὅτε ἐπίστευον χαρίσματα ἐλάμβανον, τοῦτο φησὶ· ὁ νόμος ὑμῖν ἔδωκε τοῦ θεοῦ πνεύματος τὴν ἐνέργειαν· ἢ ἡ χάρις· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ φησι τῆς οἰκονομίας τὸ μέγεθος κατοπεῦσαι οὐ βούλεσθε (βούλεσθε A] βουλόμεθα BΓ)· διὰ συντόμου ἀποδείξεως ὑμᾶς πείσαι βούλομαι· «ἐλάβετε (ἐλάβετε AB<sup>c</sup>] ἔλαβε BΓ) τὸ πνεῦμα» τὸ ἅγιον (τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον BΓ πνεῦμα ἅγιον A)· εἰργάσασθαι δυνάμεις· τίς ὑμῖν δέδωκε τὴν τοσαύτης ἰσχύν· ὁ νόμος· Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲν ἐποιεῖτε πρότερον· ἀλλ' ἡ πίστις· πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἐσχάτης μανίας· ταύτην μὲν ἀφεῖναι· πρὸς δὲ τὸν οὐδὲν εὐηργετηκότα νόμον αὐτομολῆσαι·

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**1** ἀποδείξας — δεδιδαγμένον] cf. comm. 93.1 (*Typ. Par.* 45.9-10 / *Chrys. PG* 61.647.30-34)      **1-2** καὶ ἀξιόπιστον — διδάσκαλον] cf. *Typ. Par.* 45.9 / *Chrys. PG* 61.647.32-33      **2-3** μετὰ πλείονος — καὶ πιστεως] cf. comm. 93.2 (*Typ. Par.* 45.9-10 / *Chrys. PG* 61.647.30-34)      **3-7** καὶ ἀρχόμενος — ἦσαν ἄξιοι] cf. *Typ. Par.* 45.11-13 / *Chrys. PG* 61.647.35-39      **7-8** ἀλλ' ἀνόητους — νόμου] cf. comm. 93.3      **8-10** θεὰ δὲ — γενόμενον ἦν] cf. *Typ. Par.* 45.22-26 / *Chrys. PG* 61.647.59-648.32\_      **8-9** οὐ

γάρ — πρότερον] cf. comm. 93.4 **10–12** μετ’ ευφημίας — πλοῦτον] cf. Theodoret PG 82.476.22-28  
**12–14** τὸ δὲ οἷς — ἐσταυρώθη] cf. comm. 94.1 **14–15** οὕτω φησὶ — θεασάμενοι] cf. comm. 94a  
**15–17** προεγράφη — εἶδετε] cf. comm. 94.2 **17–19** ταῦτα δὲ — παθημάτων] cf. Typ. Par. 46.1-12 / Chrys. PG 61.649.2-17 **20** εἶτα — παράγει] cf. Theodoret PG 82.476.36 **21** ἐπίστευον — ἐλάμβανον] Theodoret De Sancta Trinitate, PG 75.1181.8 **21–22** ὁ νόμος — ἡ χάρις] cf. Theodoret PG 82.476.42-44 **22–27** ἐπειδὴ — αὐτομολῆσαι] cf. Typ. Par. 46.19-26 / Chrys. PG 61.649.21-41

<Gal. 3.3-4> *οὕτως ἀνόητοι ἐστέ; (NA28 ἀνόητοί ἐστε,) ἐναρξάμενοι πνεύματι· νῦν σαρκὶ ἐπιτελεῖσθε; τοσαῦτα ἐπάθετε εἰκῇ. εἴ γε καὶ εἰκῇ·*

Εὐκαιρῶς πάλιν τὴν ὕβριν ἐπήνεγκε· δέον γὰρ προσθήκην ποιῆσαι φησὶν τοῦ χρόνου προϊόντος· οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐπεδώκατε, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τοῦπίσω (τοῦπίσω ΑΓ] τοῦ πίσω Β) κατηνέχθητε· ἀπὸ γὰρ πνευματικῶν ἀρξάμενοι· ἐπὶ τὰ σωματικά κατελύσατε· τὸ μὲν γὰρ σημεῖα ποιεῖν· πνευματικόν· τὸ δὲ περιτέμνεσθαι σαρκικόν· καὶ οὐκ εἶπε τελεῖτε· ἀλλὰ «τελεῖσθε»· δεικνὺς ὅτι δίκην θρεμμάτων ἀλόγων λαβόντες αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνοι κατέτεμνον, μὴ εἰδότας ὁ πάσχουσι· καὶ «πνεῦμα» μὲν, τὴν χάριν ἐκάλεσε, «σάρκα» δὲ τὸν νόμον· εἶτα ἀπὸ τῶν παθημάτων τὴν κατηγορίαν ὑφαίνει· «τοσαῦτα» λέγων «ἐπάθετε εἰκῇ»· ὁ δὲ καὶ πληκτικώτερόν ἐστιν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦσαν πολλοῖς πειρασμοῖς διὰ τὸν Χριστὸν παλαίσαντες· πάντα ἐκεῖνα φησὶ ἃ ὑπεμείνατε διὰ τὸν Χριστὸν· ζημιῶσαι ὑμᾶς (ὕμᾶς Α] om. ΒΓ) οὗτοι βούλονται· εἰ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ταῦτα ἐπάθετε· τὸν Χριστὸν δὲ καταλιπόντες τοῦ νόμου ἀντέχεσθε· οὐδὲν ἔχετε κέρδος· εἶτα ἵνα μὴ κατασείσῃ αὐτῶν τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ καταλύσῃ τὰ νεῦρα· οὐκ ἔμεινεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀποφάσεως ἀλλ’ ἐπήγαγεν· «εἴγε καὶ εἰκῇ» (εἰκῇ ΑΒΓ)· εἴ γὰρ καὶ (καὶ ΒΓ] om. Α) βουληθείητέ φησιν ἀνακτήσασθαι ἑαυτοὺς· οὐκ εἰκῇ· εἰ θελήσετε ἐμμεῖναι τῇ χάριτι· λήψεσθε τὸν μισθόν· ποῦ νῦν εἰσὶν οἱ μετάνοιαν ἀναιροῦντες· εἶτα περὶ τῶν χαρισμάτων διέξεισιν·

**1–5** εὐκαιρῶς — κατέτεμνον] cf. Typ. Par. 46.33-47.8 (Chrys. PG 61.649.45-650.7) **5–6** μὴ εἰδότας — ὁ πάσχουσι] not identified **67** πνεῦμα μὲν — ὑφαίνει] cf. Theodoret PG 82.476.44-52

6 πνεῦμα μὲν — τὸν νόμον] cf. comm. 96a      7–8 τοσαῦτα λέγων — πληκτικώτερον ἔστιν] cf. *Typ. Par.* 47.11, Chrys. *PG* 61.650.5-7      8 ἦσαν πολλοῖς — παλαίσαντες] cf. comm. 97      8–9 πάντα — βούλονται] cf. *Typ. Par.* 47.14-16 (Chrys. *PG* 61.650.11-12)      9–10 εἰ γὰρ — κέρδος] not identified  
11–14 εἶτα ἵνα — ἀναιροῦντες] cf. Chrys. *PG* 61.650.12-17      14 εἶτα περὶ τῶν χαρισμάτων διέξεισιν] not identified

<Gal. 3.5-9> *ὁ οὖν ἐπιχορηγῶν ὑμῖν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἐνεργῶν δυνάμεις ἐν ὑμῖν· ἐξ ἔργων νόμου· ἡ ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως· καθὼς Ἀβραὰμ ἐπίστευσε τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην· γινώσκετε ἄρα ὅτι οἱ ἐκ πίστεως, οὗτοί εἰσιν υἱοὶ Ἀβραάμ· προῖδοῦσα δὲ ἡ γραφὴ ὅτι ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοὶ τὰ ἔθνη ὁ θεός· προεὐγγελίσατο τῷ Ἀβραάμ, ὅτι ἐνευλογηθήσονται (εὐλογηθήσονται Γ) ἐν σοὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη· ὥστε οἱ ἐκ πίστεως ἐυλογοῦνται σὺν τῷ πιστῷ Ἀβραάμ·*

«Ὁ ἐπιχορηγῶν ὑμῖν» φησὶ «τὸ πνεῦμα» θεός· «καὶ δυνάμεις» ἐργαζόμενος σημείων «ἐν ὑμῖν»· «διὰ τὰ ἐκ νόμου ἔργα» ταῦτα ποιεῖ· «ἡ διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν». εὐδὴλον ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο· ὀφείλετε τοίνυν οὐκ ἐξ ὧν μόνον ἐπετελέσατε σημείων αὐτοὶ γνῶναι τὴν τῆς πίστεως δύναμιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ προπάτορος ὑμῶν Ἀβραάμ· καὶ αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐκ πίστεως ἐδικαιώθη· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἀφεῖναι τὸν νόμον μήπως τῆς συγγενείας τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ἐκπέμπωσιν (ἐκπέ[.]πωσιν Α)· εἰς τοῦναντίον περιῖστησι τὸν λόγον· ὅτι μᾶλλον οἱ τῆς πίστεως τρόφιμοι. προσοικειοῦνται τῷ Ἀβραάμ. καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀγχιστεῖαν ἡ πίστις ἐργάζεται· τὸ δὲ «ἄρα». ἀντὶ τοῦ τοιγαροῦν· συνίστησι δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἀπὸ μαρτυρίας λέγων· προῖδοῦσα ἡ δὲ γραφὴ· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα περιεῖχοντο τοῦ νόμου τὸ ἀρχαῖον αὐτοῦ δυσωπούμενοι· ἀποδείκνυσιν ὅτι ἡ πίστις, ἀρχαιοτέρα τοῦ νόμου· αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ τὸν νόμον δοὺς· πρὶν τοῦτον δοῦναι· τοῦτο ἦν ὀρίσας· «ἐκ πίστεως δικαιωθῆναι τὰ ἔθνη»· οὐκ εἶπεν δὲ ἀπεκάλυψεν. ἀλλ' «εὐγγελίσατο»· ἵνα μάθῃς ὅτι καὶ ὁ πατριάρχης τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἔχαιρε. καὶ τοῦτο ἐκβῆναι ἐπόθει· τὸ δὲ «ἐν σοὶ». τουτέστιν ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου ὅς ἐστι Χριστός· ἡ «ἐν σοὶ». ἀντὶ τοῦ κατὰ μίμησιν σὴν καὶ ὁμοιότητα. ἡ οἱ μιμούμενοί σε· «ἐνευλογηθήσονται» (ἐν εὐλογηθήσονται ΑΒΓ) δὲ. διὰ

πίστεως δηλαδή· ἥς ἀρχηγὸς Ἀβραάμ· «οἱ ἐκ πίστεως» ἠνωμένοι καὶ σπέρμα τελοῦντες, οὐχ οἱ ἀπὸ σαρκὸς·

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1–2 ὁ ἐπιχορηγῶν — πίστιν] cf. comm. 98      3–4 ἐξ ὧν — ἐδικαιώθη] cf. comm. 99      5–6 ἐπειδὴ — λόγον ] cf. comm. 100.1      6–7 ὅτι μᾶλλον — Ἀβραάμ] not identified      7 τὴν πρὸς — τοιγαροῦν] cf. comm. 100.2      7–8 συνίστησι — λέγων] not identified      9–10 διὰ τοῦτο — νόμου] cf. comm. 101      10–12 αὐτὸς γὰρ — ἐπόθει] cf. *Typ. Par.* 49.6-11 / *Chrys. PG* 61.651.27-32      13–15 τὸ δὲ ἐν — ἀρχηγὸς Ἀβραάμ] cf. comm. 103      15–16 οἱ ἐκ — σαρκὸς] cf. comm. 104

<Gal. 3.10-12> Ὅσοι (ὅσο B) γὰρ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου εἰσὶν, ὑπὸ κατάραν εἰσὶν· γέγραπται γάρ· ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς (om. πᾶς post ἐπικατάρατος) ὃς οὐκ ἐμμένει ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου· τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτά· ὅτι δὲ ἐν νόμῳ οὐδεὶς δικαιούται παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. δῆλον· ὅτι ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται· ὁ δὲ νόμος οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ πίστεως· ἀλλ' ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ἄνθρωπος. ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς·

Ἐπειδὴ ἐφόβει αὐτοὺς τὸ ἐάσαι τὸν νόμον· μήπως «ὑπὸ κατάραν γένωνται»· διὰ τὸ «γεγράφθαι ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὃς οὐκ ἐμμένει». εἰς τοῦναντίον τοῦτο περιτρέπει· καὶ ἀγωνίζεται δεῖξαι· ὅτι «ὑπὸ κατάραν» μᾶλλον «εἰσὶν» οἱ ἐμμένοντες τῷ νόμῳ· πῶς; ὅτι οὐδεὶς φησὶ πληροῖ αὐτὸν· οἱ δὲ γε ἀποστάντες αὐτοῦ. καὶ τῆς ἐξ ἐκείνου κατάρας ἡλευθέρωνται· διὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἐπικατάρατοι οἱ ἐχόμενοι τοῦ νόμου· διὰ τὸ μὴ ἰσχύειν πληροῦν τὸν νόμον· «παρὰ τῷ θεῷ» δὲ πρόσκειται· ἐπεὶ ἴσως τίς παρ' ἀνθρώποις δίκαιος δόξει· συνιστήσι δὲ τὸ ὅτι ἡ πίστις δικαιοῖ· ἀπὸ μαρτυρίας τοῦ προφήτου Ἀμβακούμ οὕτως λέγοντος· «ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται»· οὐκ εἶπεν ἐκ νόμου. ἀλλ' «ἐκ πίστεως»· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ τὴν ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοσύνην δείκνυσιν μόνον, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ διὰ νόμου σωθῆναι οὐκ ἔστι· μία οὖν ὁδὸς ἡ δικαιούσα· ἡ διὰ πίστεως· τῇ γὰρ προφητικῇ μαρτυρίᾳ· ἐπεσφράγισε τὸν ἴδιον λόγον· ὁ δὲ νόμος φησὶ· οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ πίστεως· οἷον οὐ πίστιν ζητεῖ. ἀλλὰ πρᾶξιν ἀπαιτεῖ· ὥστε δι' ἔργων ἔστιν ἡ ἐν νόμῳ σωτηρία· ὁ δυσχερέστερον

τοῦ διὰ πίστεως· ὁ εὐκολώτερον· εἴτα ἀντίθεσιν ὑπαντῶσαν ἐπιλύει· ὁ Ἀβραὰμ φησὶ «ἐκ πίστεως» ἐδικαιώθη· ὅτι πρὸ (πρὸ Α] πρὸς ΒΓ) νόμου ἦν· καὶ οὐχ ὑπὸ ζυγὸν νόμου· ἡμᾶς δὲ ὑπὸ νόμον γενομένους· εἴπερ αὐτὸν ἀπολείπομεν, τίς ἐξαίρησεται· (: Γ) τοῦτο οὖν ἐπιλύων. οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἐντολῶν «ἐξηγόρασεν ἡμᾶς», ἀλλ' «ἐκ τοῦ νόμου»· ἵνα μὴ ὦμεν ὑποκείμενοι. περιτομῇ καὶ σαββάτοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις· ἃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐντολὴ ἢ δικαίωμα. ἀλλὰ νόμος·

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**1–4** ἐπειδὴ — ἡλευθέρωνται] cf. comm. 105      **4–5** διὰ τοῦτο — νόμον] cf. comm. 106 **5–6** παρὰ τῷ θεῷ δὲ πρόσκειται] not identified      **6** ἴσως — δόξει] cf. comm. 107      **6–8** συνίστησι — ἀλλ' ἐκ πίστεως] cf. *Typ. Par.* 50.13-22      **8–9** τοῦτο — ἐν] not identified      **9** μία — διὰ πίστεως] cf. comm. 108  
**9–11** τῇ γὰρ — ἀπαιτεῖ] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.477.45-48 **11–12** ὥστε — εὐκολώτερον] not identified  
**12–14** ἀντίθεσιν — ἐπιλύων] cf. comm. 110.1      **14–16** οὐκ ἐκ — νόμος] cf. *Supplementum et varietas lectionis in epistulam ad Galatas* (e cod. Bodl. Auct. T. 1. 7 [=Misc.185]) in Cramer 6.400.13

<Gal. 3.13-14> *Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν* (ἐξηγόρασεν Α] ἐξηγόρασας B<sup>a,c</sup>: ἐξηγόρασαι B<sup>p,c</sup> Γ) *ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου. γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα· γέγραπται γὰρ ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου· ἵνα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἡ εὐλογία τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ γένηται* (om. γένηται ΒΓ) *ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ· ἵνα τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος λάβωμεν διὰ τῆς πίστεως·*

Περὶ τῇ φησιν ἡ τοῦ νόμου τήρησις ἦν ἡμῖν· ὁ γὰρ ὠφείλετο τῷ νόμῳ χρέος. τῆς φύσεως (φυλακῆς Α] φύσεως ΒΓ) παρὰ ἀνθρώπων. τοῦτο ὁ Χριστὸς κατέβαλεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν· μετὰ γὰρ πάσης ἀκριβείας· καὶ ὥσπερ τινα λύτρα καταβαλὼν. «ἐξηγόρασεν ἡμᾶς τῆς» ἐκεῖθεν δουλείας καὶ «κατάρας»· αὐτὸς ἐτέρως «κατάρα γενόμενος», «κρεμασθεὶς ἐπὶ ξύλου»· ὥσπερ εἴ τις τοὺς κελευσθέντας θανεῖν λυτρώσεται· αὐτὸς ἀναιρούμενος· καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ὑφιστάμενος θάνατον· καλῶς δὲ τὸ «ἐξηγόρασε»· δοὺς γὰρ τιμὴν τὸ αὐτοῦς (αὐτὸς Α] αὐτοῦς ΒΓ) γενέσθαι κατάρα. «ἡγόρασεν ἡμᾶς τῆς κατάρας»· ἔδει γὰρ ταῖς ἀραῖς πάντων ὑποκειμένων· τὸν μὴ ὑπεύθυνον τῇ κατάρᾳ τοῦ νόμου. λύσαι ταύτην διὰ τοῦ ἐπαράτου θανάτου· τοῦτο δὲ γέγονεν «ἵνα



εἰς τὰ ἔθνη»· τουτέστι τοὺς μὴ ἔχομένους τῷ νόμῳ. τὰ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας γένηται τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ὅς σπέρμα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ἐστὶ· καθ' ὃ νοεῖται ἄνθρωπος. ἐν γὰρ τῷ σπέρματί σου φησὶ «ἐνευλογηθήσονται»· ὁ Χριστὸς οὖν καθ' ὃ (καθ' ὃ] καθὸ AB) ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος· κληρονομήσας τὰς ἐπαγγελίας. τῷ λοιπῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει ταύτας ἐδωρήσατο πιστεύοντι εἰς αὐτὸν· καὶ οὕτω πρόεισιν (πρὸ εἰσιν Γ) ἢ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπαγγελία· καὶ γὰρ ἢ μὲν κατάρα. τῷ σταυρῷ ἐλύθη· διὰ δὲ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως· δικαιοσύνη ἐγένετο· ἐκ δὲ ταύτης. ἐπισπασμὸς τοῦ πνεύματος· καὶ αὐτὸ γὰρ ἐπαγγελία ἦν·

1–4 περιττή — κατάρας] cf. *Typ. Par.* 52.12-18      4 αὐτὸς — ξύλου] not identified 4–7 ὥσπερ —  
κατάρας] cf. comm. 110.2 7–8 ταῖς ἀραῖς — θανάτου] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.480.7 8–10 δὲ γέγονεν —  
Ἀβραάμ ἐστὶ] cf. comm. 111.1 10 καθ' ὃ νοεῖται ἄνθρωπος] not identified 10–11 ἐν γὰρ —  
ἐνευλογηθήσονται] cf. comm. 103 11–12 ὁ Χριστὸς — εἰς αὐτὸν] cf. comm. 111.2  
12–14 καὶ οὕτω — πίστεως] cf. *Typ. Par.* 52.4-10 14–15 δικαιοσύνη — ἐπαγγελία ἦν] cf.  
comm. 112

<Gal. 3.15-20> *Ἀδελφοὶ (post ἀδελφοὶ dist. NA28 et al. edd.) κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω· ὁμῶς ἀνθρώπου κεκυρωμένην διαθήκην οὐδεὶς ἀθετεῖ· ἢ ἐπιδιατάσσεται· τῷ δὲ Ἀβραάμ ἐρρέθησαν (ἐρρέθεισαν ΒΓ) αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι· καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ· οὐ λέγει καὶ τοῖς σπέρμασιν ὡς ἐπὶ πολλῶν· ἀλλ' ὡς ἐφ' ἑνός. (ἐφενὸς Γ) καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου· ὅς ἐστι Χριστὸς· τοῦτο δὲ λέγω· διαθήκην προκεκυρωμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς Χριστὸν· ὁ μετὰ ἑτη τετρακόσια καὶ τριάκοντα γεγονὼς νόμος· οὐκ ἀκυροῖ εἰς τὸ καταργῆσαι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν· εἰ γὰρ ἐκ νόμου ἢ κληρονομία. οὐκ ἔτι (οὐκέτι NA28 et alii) ἐξ (ἐπαγγελίας τῷ δὲ Ἀβραάμ δι' ante ἐπαγγελίας alii] om. ABΓ : ἐπαγγελίας τῷ δὲ Ἀβραάμ ἐξ add. A<sup>c</sup>) ἐπαγγελίας κεχάριται ὁ Θεός· τί οὖν ὁ νόμος; τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν προσετέθη· ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃ τὸ σπέρμα ᾧ ἐπήγγελται· διαταγὴς (διαταγῆς ABΓ) δι' ἀγγέλων ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου· ὁ δὲ μεσίτης. ἐνὸς οὐκ ἔστιν· ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἷς ἐστίν·*

Ἐπειδὴ ἔκ τε τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς σημείων· ἔκ τε τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ σταυροῦ· καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἐσώθη ὁ Ἀβραάμ· ἔδειξεν τὴν πίστιν σώζειν καὶ οὐ τὸν νόμον. νῦν καὶ ἀπὸ ἀνθρωπίνου παραδείγματος αὐτοὺς πείσαι ζητεῖ· τὸ γὰρ «κατὰ ἄνθρωπον»· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐξ ἀνθρωπίνων παραδειγμάτων καὶ λογισμῶν· καλῶς δὲ «ἀδελφοὺς» καλεῖ· «ἀνοήτους» ἄνω εἰπών· δεῖ γὰρ ποτὲ μὲν ἐπιστύφειν. ποτὲ δὲ ἐγγλυκένειν· ὅρα δὲ τί κατασκευάζει διὰ τοῦ ὑποδείγματος τῆς «διαθήκης»· ἐὰν ἄνθρωπος φησὶ διάθηται· μὴ τολμᾷ τίς ἀνατρέψαι ἢ προσθεῖναι τι; τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ «ἐπιδιατάσσεται» (ἐπιδιατάσσεται A] ἐπιτάσσεται BΓ : ἐπιδιατάσσεται post corr. Γ)· οὐκ οὖν πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ θεοῦ· ἐπηγγείλατό φησι ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἀβραάμ. «ἐν τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ» εὐλογεῖσθαι τὰ ἔθνη· σπέρμα δὲ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ κατὰ σάρκα. Χριστὸς· διὸ καὶ ἐνικῶς κεῖται· «ὁ νόμος ἐδόθη μετὰ ἔτη τετρακόσια τριάκοντα» (τετρακόσια τριάκοντα A] υλ' B τλ' Γ (τ) pot. qu. γ vel υ in Γ)· εἰ τοίνυν φησὶ ὁ νόμος χαρίζεται τὰς εὐλογίας καὶ δικαιοῖ. ἀκυροῦται ἢ πρὸς Ἀβραάμ ἐπαγγελία καὶ διαθήκη τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ ταῦτα. πολλὸν χρόνον κρατήσασα· εἰ γὰρ ἐπηγγείλατο μὲν ἐκείνη διὰ Χριστοῦ εὐλογεῖν· ὁ δὲ νόμος ἀντὶ Χριστοῦ εὐλογεῖ, ἄκυρος ἄρα ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ διαθήκη· ὅπερ ἄτοπον· ἀνθρώπου μὲν κρατεῖν. τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ ἀκυροῦσθαι· εἴτα σαφηνείας χάριν ἐπαναλαμβάνει τὸν λόγον καὶ φησὶ· τοῦτο δὲ λέγω (τοῦτο δὲ λέγω A] om. BΓ) «διαθήκην προκεκυρωμένην»· εἰς Χριστὸν φησὶν ἣν ἡ ἐπαγγελία· οὐχ οἷόν τε οὖν ἐκείνην λύσιν λαβεῖν διὰ τῆς τοῦ νόμου θέσεως· ὡς ἐξ ἀντιθέσεως δὲ φησὶ· «τί οὖν ὁ νόμος ἐδόθη» φησί. εἰ σῶσαι οὐκ ἰσχύει· ὁ καὶ ἐπλύων φησὶ· οὐκ εἰκὴ ἐδόθη· ἀλλὰ «χάριν τῶν παραβάσεων»· ἵνα μὴ ἐξῇ ἰουδαίοις ἀδεῶς ζῆν. ἀλλ' ἀντὶ χαλινουῦ ὁ νόμος αὐτοῖς ἐπὶκειται· (ἐπὶκειται AB] ἀντίκειται Γ) ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὴν πίστιν ἐπῆρε καὶ πρεσβυτέραν ἔδειξεν· ἵνα μὴ τις νομίση περιττὸν τὸν νόμον. καὶ τοῦτο διορθοῦται· καθ' ὑπόκρισιν δὲ ἀναγνωστέον· οἷον θέλεις μαθεῖν τίνος χάριν ὁ νόμος ἐτέθη; τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν· καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν ὡς ἀπέραντον ἐδόθη. ἀλλὰ μέχρις ἂν ἔλθῃ Χριστὸς. ὃ ἐπήγγελται τὸ εὐλογεῖν τὰ ἔθνη· καλῶς δὲ καὶ τὸ «προσετέθη»· ἵνα δείξῃ μὴ ὄντα τὸν νόμον πρωτότυπον· ὡς αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι· τοῦτο δὲ παρέγκειται· τὸ γὰρ ἐξῆς (ἐξῆς AΓ] ἐξ ἧς B)· «τί οὖν ὁ νόμος»· τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν προσετέθη· «διαταγεῖς δι' ἁγγέλων ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου»· ἵν' ἢ τὸ διαταγεῖς. ἐπὶ τοῦ νόμου νοούμενον· τὸ δὲ «διαταγεῖς», ἀντὶ τοῦ διακονηθεῖς καὶ ἐπιταγεῖς (διακονηθεῖς καὶ ἐπιταγεῖς A] διαταγεῖς BΓ) «διὰ μέσων ἁγγέλων»· ἢ ἱερέων· ἢ ὄντως (ὄντως A]

οὕτως ΒΓ) ἀγγέλων· «μεσίτην» δὲ. οἱ μὲν Μωσέα φησὶ· ὡς διακονησάμενον τῇ τούτου δόσει· καὶ μεσιτεύσαντα. τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ λαῷ· ἵνα εἴπῃ ὅτι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν αὐτὸς ἔδωκε δι' ἑαυτοῦ· τὸν δὲ νόμον οὐ δι' ἑαυτοῦ. ἀλλὰ διὰ μεσίτου· ἄλλοι δὲ τὸ μεσίτου. ἀντὶ τοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ· θέλει γὰρ δεῖξαι φησὶ καὶ τὸν νόμον ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ δεδομένον· ἵνα καὶ τοῦ ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν κύριος γένηται· ὁ γὰρ δεδοκῶς. ἐξουσίαν ἔχει καὶ ἀνελεῖν· «μεσίτην» δὲ καλεῖ τὸν Χριστὸν· διὰ τὸ μεσιτεῦσαι τῷ θεῷ (τὸν θεὸν Γ) καὶ τῷ (τῷ ante eras. Α) πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· καὶ οἷον πρὸς φιλίαν ἀποκαταλλάξαι ἡμᾶς ἐκπολεμωμένους θεῷ· «ὁ δὲ μεσίτης» φησὶ. δύο τινῶν γίνεται μεσίτης· δῆλον δὲ ὡς ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεοῦ· «ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἷς ἐστίν» ὁ καὶ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τῷ Ἀβραάμ δεδοκῶς. καὶ τὸν νόμον τεθεικῶς. καὶ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας νῦν ὑποδείξας τὸ πέρας· εἰ οὖν αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς κατήλλαξεν· εὐδὴλον ὡς ἢ πρὸς αὐτὸν σώζει πίστις. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ νόμος·

ἄλλος· Μωσῆς μὲν. ἐνὶ ἔθνει ἐμεσίτευσεν· ἔδει δὲ τὸν ἀληθῶς μέλλοντα μεσιτεύειν· οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἑνὸς ἔθνους· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ πάντων κοινῇ τὴν μεσιτείαν ποιήσασθαι· ἐπειδὴ καὶ πάντων ἔθνων. «εἷς ἐστὶ θεὸς»· εἴη δ' ἂν οὗτος· οὐ ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος οἷος ὁ Μωσῆς, ἀλλὰ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ· θεὸς τε ὢν ἀληθῶς ὁ αὐτὸς· καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἀληθῶς· καὶ τῇ συγγενείᾳ τῇ (τῆς Γ) πρὸς ἑκάτερον. εἰς ἓν συνάγων ἑκάτερα· Χριστὸς γάρ ἐστὶν ἡ εἰρήνη ἡμῶν. ὁ ποιήσας τὰ ἀμφοτέρα ἓν·

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1–5 ἐπειδὴ — ἐγγλυκένειν] cf. comm. 113      4–5 ἀνοήτους — ἐγγλυκένειν] cf. *Typ. Par.* 53.10-11 (Chrys. *PG* 61.654.2)      5–6 ὅρα — διαθήκης] cf. comm. 114      6–8 ἐὰν — ἐπὶ θεοῦ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 53.13-15      8–12 ἐπηγγείλατό — τοῦ θεοῦ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 53.24-54.2      12–25 καὶ ταῦτα — ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου] not identified      14–15 σαφήνειας — λόγον] cf. comm. 115      16 εἰς Χριστὸν — ἐπαγγελία] cf. comm. 116      25–28 ἵν' ἡ — οὕτως ἀγγέλων] cf. comm. 122      28–37 μεσίτην δὲ — οὐχ ὁ νόμος] not identified      38–42 Μωσῆς — ἀμφοτέρα ἓν] cf. comm. 122b (cf. Gennadius *Fr. Gal.* 419.8–16)

<Gal. 3.21-22> *ὁ οὖν νόμος κατὰ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ; μὴ γένοιτο. εἰ γὰρ ἐδόθη νόμος ὁ δυνάμενος ζωοποιῆσαι. ὧντος ἂν ἐκ νόμου ἦν ἡ δικαιοσύνη· ἀλλὰ συνέκλεισεν ἡ γραφὴ τὰ πάντα ὑπὸ ἁμαρτίαν. ἵνα ἡ ἐπαγγελία ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δοθῇ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν.*

εἰ ἐν τῷ σπέρματι τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι δέδονται· «ὁ δὲ νόμος» κατάραν εἰσάγει. ἄρα «κατὰ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ»· λύει δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τῇ ἀπαγορεύσει καὶ τοῖς ἐξῆς· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὁ νόμος φησὶν εἶχεν ἰσχὺν τοῦ σώζειν, οὐ χρεῖα ἦν πίστεως· ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐκ ἴσχυεν· ἵνα ἡ πίστις χώραν λάβῃ· πλὴν ὅτι προεκάθαιρε καὶ προωδήγει (προοδήγει Γ) παιδαγωγοῦ δίκην. καὶ δεκτικούς ἀπετέλει τῆς πίστεως· πῶς οὖν «κατὰ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ», ὁ ταύταις προοδοποιῶν· εἰ δὲ διὰ τοῦτο ἐδόθη ἵνα συγκλείσῃ πάντας· τουτέστιν ἐλέγξῃ καὶ διδάξῃ τὰ οἰκεῖα πλημμελήματα· οὐκ ἐκώλυσε μόνον τὰς ἐπαγγελίας· ἀλλὰ καὶ συμπράττει· τοῦτο γοῦν ἐδήλωσε λέγων· «ἀλλὰ συνέκλεισεν ἡ γραφὴ»· οἷον συγκλεισθῆναι συνεχώρησεν καὶ οἷον ἀποστενωθῆναι «τοὺς πάντας εἰς ἁμαρτίαν»· διὰ τῶν οἰκείων λόγων καὶ διοικήσεων· τοῦτο γὰρ αἱ γραφαὶ. ἵνα χώραν λάβῃ ἡ διὰ Χριστοῦ πίστις· παραβαινόμενος γὰρ ὁ νόμος, ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς ὅτι ἁμαρτωλοὶ εἰσιν· ἀλλὰ διδάξας· οὐκ ἠλευθέρου τῆς ἁμαρτίας· ὥς ἀσμένως λοιπὸν προσελθεῖν τῇ φανήσῃ πίστει, τῷ ἐθέλειν ῥυθῆναι τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τοῦτο δὲ φησι γέγονεν· ἵνα αἱ πρὸς τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ἀπαγγελίαι· διὰ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως δοθῶσι τοῖς παρεχομένοις αὐτήν·

ἄλλος· «συνέκλεισεν»· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἤλεγξε τοὺς τε πρὸ νόμου καὶ ἐν νόμῳ· τοὺς μὲν φυσικόν. τοὺς δὲ τὸν μωσαϊκὸν παραβάοντας νόμον· καὶ φάρμακον ἀμφοτέροις τὴν διὰ πίστεως προσήνεγκε σωτηρίαν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ Ἰουδαῖοι ἁμαρτάνοντες οὐκ ἠσθάνοντο· μὴ αἰσθανόμενοι δὲ οὐδὲ ἀφέσεως ἐπεθύμουν. δέδωκε νόμον ἐλέγχοντα τὰ τραύματα. ἵνα ποθήσωσι τὸν ἱατρὸν·

1–2 εἰ ἐν τῷ — τοῖς ἐξῆς] cf. *Typ. Par.* 56.21-24 (Chrys. *PG* 61.655.11-15, Damasc. *PG* 95.797.50-54)

2–6 εἰ μὲν γὰρ — προοδοποιῶν] cf. comm. 126 6–8 εἰ δὲ διὰ — ἡ γραφὴ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 56.31-57.3 (Chrys. *PG* 61.655.25-30) 8–13 οἷον — παρεχομένοις αὐτήν] cf. comm. 128 14–16 συνέκλεισεν — σωτηρίαν] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.484.7-15 16–17 ἐπεὶ γὰρ — ἱατρὸν] cf. *Typ. Par.* 57.6-8 (Chrys. *PG* 61.655.32-39)

<Gal. 3.23-27> **23** *Πρὸ τοῦ δὲ* (τοῦ δὲ ABΓ NA28] δὲ τοῦ Antoniadēs) *ἐλθεῖν τὴν πίστιν ὑπὸ νόμον ἐφρουρούμεθα· συγκεκλεισμένοι* (συγκλεισμένοι B<sup>a.c</sup> συγκεκλεισμένοι B<sup>p.c.\*</sup>) *εἰς τὴν μέλλουσαν πίστιν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι· ὥστε ὁ νόμος παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῶν γέγονεν εἰς Χριστὸν· ἵνα ἐκ πίστεως δικαιωθῶμεν· ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς πίστεως. οὐκ ἔτι* (οὐκέτι NA28 et alii) *ὑπὸ παιδαγωγὸν ἔσμεν· πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστε διὰ τῆς πίστεως· ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ· ὅσοι γὰρ εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε· Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε·*

Εἶδες πῶς σαφῶς παρέστησεν ἡ εἰρήκαμεν; τὸ γὰρ «ἐφρουρούμεθα συγκεκλεισμένοι»· οὐδὲν ἕτερον· ἢ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου δεικνύει ἀσφάλειαν· καὶ γὰρ οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν παρῆχε φυλακὴν· τῷ τῶν πλειόνων ἀπεργεῖν ἁμαρτημάτων· πάλιν τὸ «συγκεκλεισμένοι». ἀντὶ τοῦ φυλαττόμενοι πρὸς «τὴν μέλλουσαν πίστιν»· εἰς τὸ φανείσης αὐτῆς. προσδραμεῖν· διὰ δὲ τὸ «ἀποκαλυφθῆναι». ἐδήλωσεν ὅτι ἄνωθεν ἢ εἰς Χριστὸν πίστις προώριστο· ἀλλὰ νῦν γέγονε καταφανής. ὅτε καὶ ἐνηνθρώπησεν· ἐκρύπτετο δὲ· ἐπεὶ καὶ γάλα χρήσιμον ἐν καιρῷ. καὶ οὐ χρήσιμον εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς· παρενετέθη οὖν «ὁ νόμος». «παιδαγωγὸς» χρεῖαν πληρῶν· ὥστε ὁ νόμος· οὐκ ἐναντίος τῇ πίστει· οὐδὲ γὰρ παιδαγωγὸς τῷ διδασκάλῳ ἐναντιοῦται. ἀλλὰ συμπράττει· πάσης κακίας ἀπαλλάττων τὸν νέον· καὶ μετὰ σχολῆς δέχεσθαι τὰ μαθήματα παρὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου παρασκευάζων· ἀλλ' ὅτ' ἐξοὶ γένηται· ἀφίσταται λοιπὸν ὁ παιδαγωγός· διὰ τοῦτο φησι· «ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς πίστεως»· οἷον τῆς ἀνδρα τέλειον ἐχούσης, (ἀγούσης A] ἐχούσης BΓ] οὐκ ἔτι ὑπὸ παιδαγωγὸν ἔσμεν· «πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ θεοῦ», ἀντὶ τοῦ τέλειοι· τῷ γὰρ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ· οὐδὲν λείπει πρὸς τελειότητα· ὅρῳ τῆς πίστεως τὴν ἰσχύ· εἴτα ἐπειδὴ μέγα εἶπεν υἱοὺς καλέσας θεοῦ· λέγει καὶ τὸν τρόπον· «ὅσοι» φησι «εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε»· εἰ γὰρ «τὸν Χριστὸν ἐνεδύμεθα» καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ ἡμφιέσμεθα. εὐδὴλον ὡς καὶ τῆς υἰότητος αὐτοῦ κοινωνοὶ ἔσμεν· εἰ καὶ ἐκεῖνος μὲν τὸ γνήσιον. ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸ θέσει ἔχομεν·

1–2 εἶδες — ἀσφάλειαν] cf. *Typ. Par.* 57.22-24, Chrys. *PG* 61.655.57-60 2–3 καὶ γὰρ οὐ —  
 ἀμαρτημάτων] cf. comm. 129 4 φυλαττόμενοι — προσδραμεῖν] cf. comm. 130 5–6 ἐδήλωσεν —  
 ἐνηνθρώπησεν] cf. comm. 131 (cf. Oecumenius *Fr. Gal.* 447.8) 6–7 ἐπεὶ καὶ — ὁ νόμος] cf. *Typ.*  
*Par.* 57.25-30, (cf. Eusebius *Fr. Gal.* 49.16) 7 παιδαγωγοῦ — πληρῶν] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.484.22  
 7–12 ὁ νόμος οὐκ — υἱοὶ θεοῦ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 58.12-19, Chrys. *PG* 61.656.1-12 12–13 ἀντὶ τοῦ —  
 τὴν ἰσχύν] cf. *Typ. Par.* 58.21-24 13–16 εἴτα θέσει — ἔχομεν] cf. comm. 138

<Gal. 3.28-29> οὐκ ἔνι Ἰουδαῖος οὐδὲ Ἑλλήν· οὐκ ἔνι δοῦλος οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερος· οὐκ ἔνι ἄρσεν  
 καὶ θήλυ· (add. † A) πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς, εἴς ἐστε (ἐστε alii) ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ· εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ·  
 ἄρα τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ σπέρμα ἐστέ· καὶ κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν κληρονόμοι·

Εἰπὼν ὅτι «ἐνεδύσασθε τὸν Χριστὸν»· οὐδὲ ταύτη ἀρκεῖται τῇ λέξει· ἀλλ' ἐνδοτέρω  
 πρόεισιν ἐρμηνεύων. ὅτι πάντες «εἴς ἐστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ»· μίαν μορφήν. ἓνα τύπον ἔχετε  
 πάντες, τοῦ Χριστοῦ· εἰς ἓν σῶμα τελεῖτε· δι' αὐτοῦ γὰρ τὸ ἓν εἶναι ἔχομεν· διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ  
 αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τῆς χάριτος·

ἄλλος δὲ οὕτως· (ὅ[.]τως Γ ) τῆς παρουσίας ζωῆς ἀρχὴ τοῖς πᾶσιν, ὁ Ἀδάμ· εἴς δὲ  
 ἄνθρωπος πάντες ἐσμὲν· τῷ λόγῳ τῆς φύσεως· οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς μελλούσης ζωῆς· ἀρχὴ μὲν ὁ  
 Χριστὸς· πάντες δὲ οἱ κοινωνοῦντες (οἱ κοινωνοῦντες AB] οἰκονομοῦντες Γ) τῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ  
 τῆς ἀθανασίας. ὥσπερ «εἴς» γινόμεθα πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ὁμοιότητα τοῦ πράγματος· τότε τοίνυν  
 «οὔτε ἄρσεν οὔτε θήλυ» θεωρεῖται· «οὔτε Ἰουδαῖος ἢ Ἑλλήν»· οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἀθανάτῳ φύσει  
 διακριθήσεται περιτετμημένος ἢ ἀκρόβυστος, πάσης ἀνωμαλίας πραγμάτων ἀνηρημένης· εἴτα  
 συλλογιζόμενος. φησὶν· «εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ»· «εἰ ὑμεῖς» φησὶν «τοῦ Χριστοῦ» σῶμα διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ  
 τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἀναγέννησιν. τύπον ἔχουσιν τῆς τότε γενησομένης ἡμῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμοιότητος·  
 ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς «τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ σπέρμα». ἀνάγκη καὶ ὑμᾶς τὸ ἐκεῖνου σῶμα· τούτου εἶναι σπέρμα,  
 οὔτε δὴ κάκεῖνος· ὅθεν εἰκότως καὶ τῆς «ἐπαγγελίας οἰκονόμοι»· (οἰκονόμοι ΑΓ] post ras.  
 κληρονόμοι Β<sup>c</sup> )

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**1–3** εἰπὼν — πάντες τοῦ Χριστοῦ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 59.6-9 (Chrys. *PG* 61.656.51-56) **3–4** εἰς ἓν —  
 χάριτος] cf. comm. 139 **5–10** τῆς παρούσης — ἀνηρημένης] cf. Theodore of Mopsuestia *Fr. Rom.* 124.7,  
*Cat. Rom Typ. Vat.* (e cod. Oxon. Bodl. Auct. E.2.20 [=misc. 48]) 78.28 **11–14** εἰ ὑμεῖς —  
 κληρονόμοι] cf. *Typ. Par.* 60.5-9

<Gal. 4.1-3> *Λέγω δέ, ἐφ’ (ἐφ ABΓ) ὅσον χρόνον ὁ κληρονόμος νήπιός ἐστιν οὐδὲν διαφέρει  
 δούλου, κύριος πάντων ὧν· ἀλλ’ (ἀλλὰ Antoniadēs) ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόπους ἐστὶ καὶ οἰκονόμους·*  
*(οἰνόμους A<sup>a.c.</sup>] οἰκονόμους A<sup>p.c.1</sup>BΓ) ἄχρι τῆς προθεσμίας τοῦ πατρὸς· οὕτως (οὕτω Antoniadēs)*  
*καὶ ἡμεῖς ὅτε ἦμεν νήπιοι ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου ἦμεν (ἦμεθα in textu NA28)*  
*δεδουλωμένοι·*

Τὰ κομιδῇ παιδία τελευτῶντες οἱ πατέρες, ἐπιτρόποις ἐγχειρίζουσιν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. ἕως οὗ  
 εἰς ἄνδρας τελέσωσι· τοῦτο γὰρ λέγει «ἄχρι τῆς προθεσμίας»· οἷον τῆς ὠρισμένης· καὶ «ἡμεῖς οὖν  
 ἐν νηπιότητι»· οἷόν τινα ἐπίτροπον εἶχομεν τὸν νόμον· «στοιχεῖα» γὰρ «κόσμου». τὰς νομικὰς  
 παρατηρήσεις φησί· ἐπεὶ περ ἀπὸ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης· νύξ καὶ ἡμέρα. ἀπὸ δὲ ἡμέρας. ἐβδομάδες  
 καὶ μῆνες· ὁ δὲ νόμος καὶ Σάββατα καὶ νομηνίας φυλάττειν ἐκέλευσεν· οὗ χάριν εἶπεν· «ὑπὸ τὰ  
 στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου ἦμεν δεδουλωμένοι»· καλῶς δὲ ἤγαγε τὸ τοῦ νηπίου παράδειγμα· ὥς γὰρ  
 ἐκεῖνος «κύριος πάντων ὧν»· κωλύεται διὰ τῆς νηπιότητος ἐγκρατὴς εἶναι τῶν αὐτοῦ. «οὕτω καὶ  
 ἡμεῖς· νήπιοι ὄντες» τὸν νοῦν ἐκωλυόμεθα τῆς υἰοθεσίας· «νήπιοι» δὲ οὐ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ· ἀλλὰ τῇ  
 γνώσει τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐπεὶ ὁ μὲν θεὸς, ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἤθελε τοῦτο χαρίσασθαι, τὴν υἰοθεσίαν· ἀλλ’ ἡμεῖς  
 αἵτιοι τῆς ἀναβολῆς, νήπιοι ὄντες τὰς φρενας· πάνυ δὲ βουλόμενος καταγαγεῖν τὰ ἐν νόμῳ. ἀφείς  
 εἶπεν ὑπὸ τὸν νόμον «ἦμεν δεδουλωμένοι». «ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα» εἶπεν·

ἄλλος· «στοιχεῖα κόσμου». τὸν εἰσαγωγικὸν νόμον καὶ στοιχειώδη· ἢ στοιχεῖα ἡμέρας.  
 ὕδωρ· καὶ πῦρ· ὧν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ἦσαν αἱ παρατηρήσεις· ἡμερῶν ἐν Σαββάτῳ· νομηνίαις·  
 περιτομαῖς· ὕδατος, ἐν τοῖς σωματικοῖς βαπτισμοῖς· πυρὸς· ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ἀνακαίειν ἐν Σαββάτῳ·

ἀλλ' ἔωλα ἐσθίειν·

1–6 τὰ κομιδῇ — δεδουλωμένοι] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.485.17-31 6–8 καλῶς — υἰοθεσίας] cf. comm. 141 8–11 νήπιοι — στοιχεῖα εἶπεν] cf. comm. 142 12–15 στοιχεῖα κόσμου — ἐσθίειν] cf. comm. 142b (cf. Gennadius *Fr. Gal.* 420.6)

<Gal. 4.4-7.> ὅτε δὲ ἦλθε τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου· ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικὸς· γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον· ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἐξαγοράσῃ· ἵνα τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν· ὅτι δὲ ἐστὲ υἱοί. ἐξαπέστειλεν (ἐξαπέστειλε Γ) ὁ Θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν κρᾶζον (κράζον Γ) . ἀββᾶ ὁ πατὴρ· ὥστε οὐκ ἔτι εἶ δοῦλος. ἀλλ' υἱός· εἰ δὲ υἱός, καὶ κληρονόμος θεοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ·

Κατὰ (κατὰ ΒΓ] κα Α<sup>a.c.</sup> κα(τα) Α<sup>p.c.1</sup> κα(τα)τα Α<sup>p.c.2</sup>) τὸν προσήκοντα φησὶν καιρὸν· καθ' (καθ ΑΒΓ) ὃν ἔδει ἐλθεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν· «πέπομφε τὸν υἱόν», τὸ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως πληρῶσαι μυστήριον· ὃς τὴν ὑμετέραν φύσιν ἀναλαβὼν· καὶ τῆς τοῦ νόμου τιμωρίας ἐλευθέρους ἀπέφηνε· καὶ τῆς ἐπηγγελμένης υἰοθεσίας ἠξίωσεν· ἐπισημῆνασθαι δὲ χρὴ ὡς τὸ ἀπέστειλε, τῇ ἐνανθρωπήσει προσήρμοσεν· οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι· ἀλλὰ «γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικὸς, ἀπέστειλε»· τὸ γνήσιον δὲ τηρῶν· καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἄρθρου εἶπεν· οἶον· «τὸν» ὄντως ὄντα «υἱόν»· «ἐκ γυναικὸς» δὲ· καὶ οὐ διὰ γυναικὸς· δεικνὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰληφότα τὸ σῶμα τὸν κύριον· καὶ ἵνα μὴ πάροδον διὰ τῆς θεοτόκου γεγενῆσθαι νομίσης· ἢ «ἐκ γυναικὸς» μὲν ὁ σώζων· ἐπειδὴ προεξένησεν ἁμαρτίαν· καὶ ἐπεὶ ὁ νόμος σώζειν οὐκ ἴσχυεν, οὕτως ὑπὸ νόμον γέγονεν ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐλθὼν ἰάσασθαι· ὅτι περιετμήθη· ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον καὶ κατάραν ἐξαγοράσῃ· καὶ υἰοθεσίαν χαρίσῃται· καλῶς δὲ εἶπεν «ἀπολάβωμεν»· δεικνὺς ταύτην ἄνωθεν ὀφειλομένην ἡμῖν καὶ ἐπηγγελμένην. ἐν ταῖς πρὸς Ἀβραάμ συνθήκαις· «ὅτι δὲ ἐστὲ υἱοί»· καὶ πόθεν δηλονότι γεγόναμεν υἱοί; ὅτι τὸν «Χριστὸν ἐνεδυσάμεθα»· ὅτι τὸ «τῆς υἰοθεσίας πνεῦμα ἐλάβομεν»· οὐ (οὐδὲ Γ) γὰρ ἂν ἡδυνήθημεν καλέσαι «πατέρα»; (; : Β)εἰ μὴ πρότερον υἱοὶ κατέστημεν· πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἄτοπον



τοὺς γενομένους υἱοὺς θεοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ· ὑποστρέφειν πάλιν πρὸς τὸν νόμον· τοῦ «ἁββᾶ» δὲ «ὁ πατήρ» ἐρμηνευτικόν· τούτων οὖν ἡξιωμένος, «οὐκ ἔτι εἶ δοῦλος»· οὐδὲ μία (οὐδὲ μία ] οὐδεμία Γ) κοινωνία σοι πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ζῶντας οὐ πᾶς μὲν γὰρ υἱὸς καὶ κληρονόμος· «σὺ δὲ καὶ υἱὸς καὶ κληρονόμος»· ἔτυχες δὲ τούτων· «διὰ Χριστοῦ» οὐ διὰ νόμου·

1–6 κατὰ τὸν προσήκοντα — ἀπέστειλε] cf. Theodoret PG 82.485.36-47 6–7 τὸ γνήσιον — γυναικὸς] cf. Typ. Par. 62.28-30 (cf. Eusebius Fr. Gal. 49.20) 7–8 οὐ διὰ — νομίσης] cf. comm. 144 8–10 ἐκ γυναικὸς — ἰάσασθαι ] cf. Typ. Par. 62.30-32 (Eusebius) 10 ὅτι περιετμήθη — ἐξαγοράσῃ] cf. comm. 144a 10–15 ἵνα τοὺς — πρὸς τὸν νόμον ] cf. Typ. Par. 61.15-26, Chrys. PG 61.657.32-47 10–11 κατάραν ἐξαγοράσῃ — ὀφειλόμενην] cf. comm. 145 14–15 πῶς οὖν πρὸς τὸν νόμον] cf. comm. 146 15–17 τοῦ ἁββᾶ — κληρονόμος] cf. Theodoret PG 82.488.1-11 17–18 σὺ δὲ — διὰ νόμου] cf. Theodoret PG 82.488.16-17

<Gal. 4.8-12a> *Ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν οὐκ εἰδότες θεὸν ἐδουλεύσατε τοῖς μὴ φύσει οὖσι θεοῖς· νῦν δὲ γνόντες θεὸν· μᾶλλον δὲ γνωσθέντες ὑπὸ θεοῦ, πῶς ἐπιστρέφετε πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα· οἷς πάλιν ἄνωθεν δουλεύειν θέλετε· ἡμέρας παρατηρεῖσθε καὶ μῆνας καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἐνιαυτούς; φοβοῦμαι ὑμᾶς, μήπως εἰκὴ κεκοπίακα εἰς ὑμᾶς· γίνεσθε ὡς ἐγὼ, ἐπεὶ (ἐπεὶ ABΓ] ὅτι NA28 et alii) κἀγὼ ὡς ὑμεῖς·*

Πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ Ἰουδαίων πιστεύοντας νῦν διαλέγεται· δεικνὺς ὡς τὸ ἡμέρας παρατηρεῖσθαι (παρατηρεῖσθαι ] παρατηρεῖσθε ABΓ ) καὶ καιροὺς. καὶ ὧν ἐν νόμῳ ἡ παρατήρησις, εἰδωλολατρία ἐστίν· οὐδὲν γὰρ φησι· τοῦτο ἕτερον, ἢ σελήνη καὶ ἡλίῳ προσκυνεῖν. ἀφ' ὧν αἱ ἡμέραι· ἐκ περιουσίας δὲ τοῦτο εἶπεν. ἀποστῆσαι θέλων τοῦ νόμου· οἱ γὰρ τὴν περιτομὴν κηρύττοντες· καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα συνεκήρυττον· καὶ πρὶν μὲν γὰρ φησι ἀξιωθῆναι τῆς κλήσεως. ἐλατρεύετε «τοῖς μὴ φύσει οὖσι θεοῖς». «τὰ στοιχεῖα» ποιοῦντες. θεοὺς γὰρ οὐ φύσει τὰ στοιχεῖα ἐκάλεσεν. εἰς ἀγωνίαν αὐτοὺς ἐμβάλλων· τότε μὲν γὰρ ἐσκοτισμένοι ἦτε καὶ ἐν πλάνῃ· νῦν δὲ γνόντες θεὸν μᾶλλον δὲ γνωσθέντες ὑπὸ θεοῦ· οὐ (οὐ BΓ] οὐ A<sup>a.c.</sup> οὐ A<sup>p.c.\*</sup>) γὰρ οἰκείῳ πόνῳ ὑμεῖς τὸν θεὸν εὔρατε· ἀλλ'

αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῆς πλάνης ἐπεσπάσατο· πῶς οὐ μείζονα ἐπισπάσεσθε κόλασιν· «ἀσθενῇ ( ἀσθενῇ ] ἀσθενεῖ ΑΓ) δὲ στοιχεῖα» καλεῖ «καὶ πτωχα». τῷ μηδεμίαν (μηδεμίαν] μὴ δὲ μίαν ΑΒΓ) δύναμιν ἔχειν εἰς τὰ προκείμενα ἀγαθὰ· οὐ γὰρ κατηγόρησεν ὡς (ὡς] om. ΑΓ) πονηρῶν, ἀλλ’ ὡς πλουτίζειν μὴ δυναμένων· ἢ διὰ τὸ ἐστερηθῆναι νοῦ καὶ ζωῆς· εἰ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ ἐθνῶν τὸ οὐκ εἰδότες θεὸν. μὴ φύσει θεοὺς εἶπεν τὰ εἰδῶλα· τὸ γὰρ πάλιν ἐπιστρέψαι· ἀναδραμεῖν ἐστὶν ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνα ἀφ’ ὧν τίς ἐξῆλθεν· εἴτα πάλιν ἐπαναμινήσκων αὐτοὺς τῶν κακῶν οἷς ἐνεσπάρησαν φησί· ἡμέρας παρατηρήσθε· διὸ (διὸ ΑΒ ] δύο Γ) ταῦτα γέγονε γαλάταις· «ἐδοῦλευσαν τοῖς μὴ οὔσι θεοῖς», καὶ πρὸς Ἰουδαϊσμὸν μετῆλθον· πρὸς οὓν τὰ δύο μεταχειρίζει τὰ φάρμακα· ἐκ τούτων γὰρ δῆλον· ὅτι οὐ μόνον αὐτοῖς περιτομὴν ἐκήρυττον. ἀλλὰ καὶ νουμηνίας καὶ ἑορτάς· πατρικὴ (πατρικὴ Α Theodoret ] πατρὶ ΒΓ<sup>a.c.</sup> πατρι(κὴ) Γ<sup>p.c.</sup>) δὲ ἡ φωνή. τὸ «φοβοῦμαι»· μεμνημένου τῶν πόνων. τὸν δὲ καρπὸν οὐχ ὀρῶντος· ὅρα σπλάγχνα· ἐκεῖνοι σαλεύονται. καὶ Παῦλος φοβεῖται· ὥσει ἔλεγε· μνήσθητε τῶν εἰς ὑμᾶς κόπων· καὶ μὴ ματαιώσητε τοὺς ἰδρωτάς· εἰπὼν δὲ «φοβοῦμαι»· καὶ τὸ «μήπως» προσθεῖς· εἰς ἀγωνίαν αὐτοὺς ἐνέβαλε καὶ εἰς ἐλπίδας χρηστὰς· οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν «εἰκῇ κεκοπίακα», ἀλλὰ «μήπως»· κύριοι φησί ὑμεῖς ἐστέ τὸ πᾶν διορθῶσαι· καὶ εἰς τὴν προτέραν ἐπανελθεῖν γαλήνην· ἢ τὸ «μήπως»· δηλοῖ ἔτι ἐστῶτας· καὶ οὐπω τέλεον πεπτωκότας· εἴτα ὥσπερ χειμαζόμενοις χεῖρα ὀρέγων. ἑαυτὸν εἰς μέσον ἄγει καὶ φησί· «γίνεσθε ὡς ἐγώ»· πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ Ἰουδαίων ταῦτα· πείθων αὐτοὺς κᾶντεῦθεν (κᾶντεῦθεν Γ ] κᾶντεῦθεν ΑΒ) ἀποστῆναι τῶν (τῶν ΑΒ ] om. Γ) παλαιῶν· εἰ μηδὲν φησιν ἄλλο ἔχετε εἰς ὑπόδειγμα. εἰς ἐμὲ γοῦν ὁρᾶτε· ὃς μεθ’ ὑπερβολῆς ἀντεχόμενος τοῦ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ. σφοδρότερον αὐτὸν εἶσα μετὰ ταῦτα. καὶ καλῶς αὐτὸ τέθεικεν ὕστερον· οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κᾶν μυρίους εὖρωσι λογισμοὺς καὶ δικαίους. ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁμογενοῦς μᾶλλον ἐφέλκονται·

1–5 πρὸς τοὺς — συνεκήρυττον] cf. comm. 148      5–6 πρὶν μὲν — ποιοῦντες ] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.488.21-22      6–11 θεοὺς γὰρ — ἀγαθὰ] cf. Chrys. *PG* 61.658.12      8 οὐ γὰρ οἰκείω — εὗρατε] cf. comm. 149      11–12 οὐ γὰρ κατηγόρησε — δυναμένων ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 62.25-26 (cf. Severianus *Fr. Gal.* 301.27)      12 διὰ τὸ ἐστερηθῆναι νοῦ καὶ ζωῆς] cf. Oecumenius *Fr. Gal.* 447.10      12–14 οὐκ εἰδότες — ἐξῆλθεν ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 63.10-23 (cf. Eusebius of Emesa *Fr. Gal.* 50.20)      14–16 εἴτα πάλιν — οὔσι θεοῖς] not identified      16 πρὸς Ἰουδαϊσμὸν — φάρμακα ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 63.27-34 (cf. Eusebius of

Emesa *Fr. Gal.* 50.30) **16–17** ἐκ τούτων — ἐορτὰς ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 64.1-3 (Chrys. *PG* 61.658.14-15  
 Damasc. *PG* 95.801.32) **18–19** πατρὶ δὲ — ὀρώντος] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.488.30-31 **19–20** ὅρα —  
 ἰδρώτας] cf. comm. 152 **21–23** εἰπὼν — γαλήνην] cf. *Typ. Par.* 64.5-9 (Chrys. *PG* 61.658.20-28)  
**23–24** ἢ τὸ — πεπτωκότας] not identified **24–29** εἶτα — ἐφέλκονται] cf. *Typ. Par.* 64.9-10  
 (Chrys. *PG* 61.658.28-45)

<Gal. 4.12b-14> *ἀδελφοί δέομαι ὑμῶν· οὐδὲν με ἡδίκησατε· οἴδατε δὲ ὅτι δι’ ἀσθένειαν τῆς*  
*(τῆς] om. Γ) σαρκὸς εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν τὸ πρότερον· καὶ τὸν πειρασμόν (πειρασμόν Γ<sup>a.c.</sup>] πειρασμόν Γ<sup>p.c.</sup>) μου τὸν ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου· οὐκ ἐξουθενήσατε οὐδὲ ἐξεπτύσατε· ἀλλ’ ὡς ἄγγελον*  
*θεοῦ ἐδέξασθέ με· ὡς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν·*

Ὁ ἀλγῶν· «δέεται»· καὶ ὁ πονῶν παρακαλεῖ· «ἀδελφοὺς» δὲ καλεῖ. (ἀδελφοὺς δὲ καλεῖ Β  
 ] ἀδελφοὺς δὲ καλεῖ, ἀδελφοὺς δὲ καλεῖ ΑΓ) τῇ οἰκειότητι τῆς προσηγορίας ἐκβάλλων τὴν  
 ὑπόνοιαν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς· τὸ γὰρ τῆς ὀδύνης πάθος· συνεχῶς αὐτὸν ἀναγκάζει μεταβάλλειν τοῦ  
 λόγου τὸ εἶδος· καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐπιτιμᾷ· νῦν δὲ παρακαλεῖν· ἄλλο τε κατηγορεῖν· ἐνταῦθα δὲ  
 διδάσκει ὡς ἃ γράφει· διὰ φιλοστοργίαν γράφει· οὐδὲν γὰρ φησιν παρ’ ὑμῶν ἡδίκημαι. ἀλλὰ  
 θεραπείας μᾶλλον ὅτι πλείστης ἡξίωμαι· παρακαλεῖ οὖν οἰκείαν σωτηρίαν τὴν ἐκείνων  
 ἡγούμενος. διεξέρχεται δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ εὐχαριστίας καὶ τιμᾶς ἃς ἐτίμησαν· τοῦτο βουλόμενος  
 δεῖξαι· ὅτι αἱ νῦν κατ’ αὐτῶν λοιδορίαι. οὐ κατὰ ἀπέχθειαν τινὰ ἢ ἔχθραν ἐλέχθησαν· πῶς γὰρ ἂν  
 φησὶ ἀπεχθῶς εἶχον (εἶχον Α] εἶπον ΒΓ) πρὸς ὑμᾶς· τοὺς περὶ πολλοῦ ποιησαμένους· ἀλλὰ τὰ  
 λεχθέντα, κηδομένου καὶ ἀγαπῶντος ἐστίν· «ἀσθένειαν δὲ σαρκὸς». οἷον μετὰ ἀσθενείας  
 σαρκικῆς εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν· μετὰ δεσμῶν· καὶ φυλακῶν· καὶ πληγῶν· ἅπερ ὑπὸ τῶν  
 ἐναντιουμένων τῷ κηρύγματι ὑπέμενον· καὶ ὅμως ταῦτα με πάσχοντα ὀρώντες, οὐκ  
 ἐσκανδαλίσθητε εἰς ἐμέ· οὐδὲ (οὐδὲ ΑΒ] καὶ Γ) διεπτύσατέ μου «τὸν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ πειρασμόν». ἥτοι  
 τὰς πληγὰς· τὰς μάστιγας· τοὺς διωγμοὺς· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδίους ὑμῶν πειρασμοὺς, τὰ ἐμὰ ἐλογίζεσθε  
 πάθη· πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἄτοπον διωκόμενόν με καὶ ἐλαυνόμενον, ὡς ἄγγελον θεοῦ παρ’ ὑμῶν  
 δεδέσθαι· καὶ ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν κύριον συμβουλευόντα τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν. παραινούντα δὲ διαπτύειν  
 καὶ ἀποστρέφεσθαι·

—  
**1–3** ὁ αλγῶν — ἐπιβουλῆς] cf. *Typ. Par.* 64.25-27, (cf. Eusebius of Emesa *Fr. Gal.* 51.1) **4–6** τὸ γὰρ τῆς — ἡξίωμαι] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.488.36-42 **6–10** παρακαλεῖ — ἀγαπῶντος ἐστίν] cf. comm. 154 **10–12** οἶον — ὑπέμενον] cf. comm. 155+156 **12–14** καὶ ὁμῶς — διωγμοὺς] cf. comm. 156 **14–16** πειρασμοὺς — δεδέσθαι] cf. *Typ. Par.* 65.20 (Chrys. *PG* 61.659.37) **15–17** πῶς οὖν — ἀποστρέφεσθαι] cf. comm. 157

<Gal. 4.15-16> *τίς οὖν ἦν ὁ μακαρισμὸς ὑμῶν· μαρτυρῶ γὰρ ὑμῖν· ὅτι εἰ δυνατόν· τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑμῶν ἐξορύξαντες ἂν ἐδώκατέ μοι· ὥστε ἐχθρὸς ὑμῶν γέγονα ἀληθεύων ὑμῖν·*

Τίς ὑμᾶς φησὶ ἐξηπάτησε καὶ ἀνέπεισεν ἐτέρως διατεθῆναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς· οὐχ ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ οἱ θεραπεύσαντες· καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὑμῶν τιμιώτερόν με ἡγούμενοι· τί οὖν γέγονε· πόθεν ἢ ἐχθρα· πόθεν ἢ ὑποψία· ὅτι τάληθῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἶπον· διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὖν, μειζόνως ἐχρῆν τιμᾶν· ὅρα δὲ μεθ' ὅσης ἀπολογεῖται τῆς ταπεινοφροσύνης· οὐ γὰρ ἀφ' ὧν περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπεδείξατο ἀλλ' ὧν ἐκεῖνοι περὶ αὐτῶν· δεικνυσιν ὥς οὐκ ἐνῆν ἐκ κακονοίας ταῦτα λέγεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν πῶς ἐγχωρεῖ τὸν μαστιζόμενον τὸν ἐλαυνόμενον νῦν ἐπιβουλεύειν ὑμῖν· ἀλλ' εἰς ἃ ἐνηβρύνοντο ἐκεῖνοι. ἀπὸ τούτων συλλογίζεται πῶς ἐγχωρεῖ τὸν τιμηθέντα παρ' ὑμῶν τὸν ὡς ἄγγελον δεχθέντα. τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐμείψασθαι·

ἢ τὸ «τίς»· ἀντὶ τοῦ ποῦ· ποῦ τὰ ζηλωτὰ ὑμῶν κατορθώματα· ποῦ ὁ μακαρισμός· ὃν ἐγὼ τε καὶ ἄλλοι ὑμᾶς ἐμακάριζον ἐν τῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ὑποταγῇ· καὶ ἔδει μὲν ἐπαγαγεῖν· οἴχεται· ἀπώλετο· ἀλλὰ καλῶς διὰ τῆς ἐρωτήσεως ἐνδειζάμενος. οὐκ ἀποφηνάμενος· οὐκ ἰδίαν τινὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχω λύπην φησὶ οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὑμῶν τιμιώτερόν με πάλοι ἡγήσασθε διὰ τὸ κήρυγμα· ὑμῶν δὲ χάριν ἀλγῶ· καὶ αὐστηροτέροις διὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν κέχρημαι λόγοις·

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**1–8** τίς ὑμᾶς — ἐμείψασθαι] cf. *Typ. Par.* 65.26-66.5 (Chrys. *PG* 61.659.48-660.4) **9** τὸ τίς — μακαρισμός] cf. comm. 158a **9–10** ὃν ἐγὼ — ἐπαγαγεῖν] not identified **10–11** οἴχεται — ἀποφηνάμενος ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 66.6 **11–12** οὐκ ἰδίαν — λύπην] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.489.5 **12–13** οἶδα —

<Gal. 4.17-18> **ζηλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς οὐ καλῶς** (καλῶς Γ)· **ἀλλὰ ἐκκλείσαι** (ἐκκλείσαι Γ<sup>p.c.</sup>] ἐκκληῖσαι ABΓ<sup>a.c.</sup>) **ὑμᾶς θέλουσιν, ἵνα αὐτοὺς ζηλοῦτε· καλὸν δὲ τὸ ζηλοῦσθαι ἐν καλῷ πάντοτε· καὶ μὴ μόνον ἐν τῷ παρεῖναί με πρὸς ὑμᾶς·**

Ἦστι ζῆλος καλὸς. ὅτ'αν τις οὕτως ζηλοῖ ὥστε μιμεῖσθαι ἀρετὴν· ἔστι ζῆλος κακὸς. ὅτ'αν τις οὕτως ζηλοῖ, ὥστε ἐκβαλεῖν ἀρετῆς τὸν κατορθοῦντα· ὁ δὲ καὶ οὗτοι φησὶ νῦν ἐπιχειροῦσι· τῆς μὲν τελείας γνώσεως ἐκβαλεῖν, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἡκρωτηριασμένην καὶ νόθον ἐμβαλεῖν θέλοντες· (θέλοντες AB<sup>p.c.\*</sup>] θέλον ΒΓ) δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον· ἀλλ' ἵνα αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐν τάξει κάθηνται διδασκάλων· ὑμᾶς δὲ τοὺς ὑψηλοτέρους, ἐν τάξει καταστήσωσι μαθητῶν· τούτο γὰρ τὸ «ἵνα αὐτοὺς ζηλοῦτε»· ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦναντίον βούλομαι· ἵνα ὑμᾶς αὐτοὶ ἔχωσι κανόνα τῶν τελειοτέρων· ὁ καὶ ἐγένετο. ὅτε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἤμην· διὸ ἐπάγει· «καλὸν δὲ τὸ ζηλοῦσθαι ἐν καλῷ πάντοτε»· ἐνταῦθα εἰργάσατο· καὶ ὅτι μὴ παρόντος τοῦ διδασκάλου μόνον τοὺς μαθητὰς τὴν δέουσαν ἔχειν γνώσιν μακάριόν ἐστιν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπόντος·

ἢ οὕτως· οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τὴν ὑμῶν πίστιν ἀσπάζονται· ἀλλ' ἵνα ὑμᾶς ταύτης ἐκκλείσαντες, (ἐκκλείσαντες Α ] ἐκκληῖσαντες ΒΓ) ἑαυτοῖς ἀναπείσωσιν ἔπεσθαι· καὶ πρὸς ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην, (ἀγάπην ΑΒΓ ] ἀπάτην Γ<sup>c\_subscr.</sup>) τὸ τοιοῦτον αὐτοῖς μεμηχάνηται· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπάγουσιν ὑμᾶς τῆς ἀληθοῦς γνώσεως καὶ ἔλκουσι πρὸς τὸν νόμον· διὰ δὲ τοῦ καλὸν δὲ ζηλοῦσθαι· βούλεται δεῖξαι· ὅτι οἱ νῦν ἀνατρέποντες αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῦ νόμου ἔχεσθαι ἀναπείθοντες· ἐζήλουν (ἐζήλουν Α ] καὶ ζηλοῦν ΒΓ) αὐτοὺς πάλαι ἐν τῇ γνώσει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου παρόντος Παύλου· ὁ δὲ δεικνύσι, διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπουσίαν ἀπατηθέντας·

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**1–9** ἐστὶ ζῆλος — ἀπόντος] cf. *Typ. Par.* 66.11-26 (Chrys. PG 61.660.4-26)    **1–2** ἔστι ζῆλος — κατορθοῦντα] cf. comm. 161    **10–12** οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ — μεμηχάνηται] cf. comm. 160a    **12–13** διὰ τοῦτο — νόμον] cf. comm. 162    **13–16** βούλεται — ἀπατηθέντας] cf. comm. 163

<Gal. 4.19-20> **Τεκνία μου οὐς πάλιν ὠδίνω. ἄχρις οὗ μορφωθῇ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν· ἤθελον δὲ παρεῖναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἄρτι· καὶ ἀλλάξαι τὴν φωνήν μου· ὅτι ἀποροῦμαι ἐν ὑμῖν·**

Μητέρα μιμεῖται περιτέμνουσαν τοῖς παιδίοις· καὶ ἀποστόλῳ πρέπουσαν ἀθυμίαν ἐνδείκνυται· διεφθείρατέ φησι τὴν εἰκόνα· τὴν μορφὴν ἡλλοιώσατε. ἦν ἐνδεδυσμένοι ἦτε διὰ βαπτίσματος· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἔτι «τέκνα» καλῶ τὰ ἀμβλωθρίδια· τὰ ἐκτρώματα· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ λέγει· φεῖδεται γὰρ πληῆξαι, καὶ τραύμασιν ἐπιθεῖναι τραύματα· καὶ ὥς οἱ σοφοὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν· τοὺς μακρονοσία ληφθέντας οὐχ ὑφ' ἐν θεραπεύουσιν ἀλλ' ἐνδιδόασιν, οὕτως καὶ οὗτος· ἐπεὶ καὶ αἱ ὠδίνες αὗται τῶν σωματικῶν δριμύτεραι· ὅσω καὶ μείζων ἡ φιλοστοργία· τὸ δὲ «πάλιν», ὥστε τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτοὺς ἀναμνησθαι ὠδίνων· χρεῖα φησὶ ὑμῖν ἐτέρας γεννήσεως τῆς πάλιν ἐντυπούσης· ὑμῖν τὴν θεῖαν μορφὴν· τὸ δὲ ἄχρις οὗ μορφωθῇ, ἐπίτασιν ἔχει τοῦ πάθους· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰδότος ἐστὶ ποῦ στήσεται αὐτῷ τὰ τῶν ὠδινῶν· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Ναυάτου διελέγχει (διελέγχθει A] διελέγχει BΓ) τὴν ἄνοιαν· τὰς τῆς μετανοίας ἀποκλείσανος θύρας·

Ἄλλος· οὐς ὠδίνω· ἄχρις ἂν οἱ μεγάλοι καὶ ὑπερφυεῖς τῆς θεότητος τοῦ Χριστοῦ χαρακτηῖρες. εἰς τὸν ὑμέτερον νοῦν διαπλασθῶσιν· ὅρα δὲ ἀγάπην διὰ τοῦ «ἤθελον παρεῖναι»· οὐκ ἀρκοῦμαι φησὶ τοῖς γράμμασι· «παρεῖναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἤθελον»· καὶ ἀνταλλάξαι θρήνοις καὶ ὀλοφυρμοῖς τὴν διὰ ῥημάτων διδασκαλίαν· ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀλοφυρμὸν κινῆσαι καὶ δάκρυα. καὶ πάντας εἰς θρήνον ἐπισπάσασθαι· οὐκ ἦν γὰρ δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἐνδείξασθαι δάκρυα· καλὴ καὶ ἡ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τῶν λόγων ἀποστροφή· τὸ «ἀποροῦμαι ἐν ὑμῖν»· οἷον οὐκ ἔχω τί εἶπω· φαίνεται γὰρ διὰ πάντων ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν γεγονότων συνεχόμενος λύπης, συνεχεῖς τὰς μεταβολὰς δεχόμενος· καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἐκείνους, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τούτους ἀγανακτῶν· εἶτα μεταφέρει τὸν λόγον πρὸς τοὺς κακοὺς συνηγόρους τοῦ νόμου. καὶ φησὶ·

1–2 μητέρα — ἡλلوιώσατε] cf. *Typ. Par.* 67.9 (Chrys. *PG* 61.660.29-37) 2–3 ἦν ἐνδεδυμένοι ἤτε διὰ βαπτίσματος] not identified 3–6 ἀλλ’ — φιλοστοργία] cf. *Typ. Par.* 67.11 (Chrys. *PG* 61.660.37-45) 6–7 τὸ δὲ πάλιν — ὠδινῶν] cf. *Typ. Par.* 67.19 (Θεόδωρος) 7–8 χρεία — μορφὴν] cf. comm. 165 8–9 τὸ δὲ ἄχρις — ὠδινῶν] cf. *Typ. Par.* 67.20-22 (Θεόδωρος) 9–10 τοῦτο δὲ — θύρας] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.489.27-29 11–12 οὕς ὠδίνω — διαπλασθῶσιν] cf. comm. 165a 12–14 ὅρα δὲ ἀγάπην — διδασκαλίαν] cf. Oecumenius *Fr. Gal.* 447.17 14–15 ὀλοφυρμόν — δάκρυα] cf. *Typ. Par.* 67.27-29 (Chrys. *PG* 61.660.54) 15–17 καλὴ — λύπης] not identified 17–18 συνεχεῖς — ἀγανακτῶν] cf. *Typ. Par.* 68.21-22 (Θεόδωρος) 18–19 μεταφέρει — καὶ φησὶ] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.489.37

<Gal. 4.21> Λέγετέ μοι οἱ ὑπὸ νόμον θέλοντες εἶναι τὸν νόμον οὐκ ἀκούετε;

Ἐπεὶ ὠλοφύρατο καὶ ἐμάλαξεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπεσπάσατο· αὐθις ἀγωνίζεται πρὸς τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας· καὶ εἰσάγει καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν νόμον παραινούντα μὴ φυλάττειν αὐτὸν ἀλλ’ ἀναχωρεῖν, ὃ ἰσχυρότατον· «λέγετέ μοι»· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀποκριθῆτε· καλῶς δὲ τὸ θέλοντες· τῆς γὰρ αὐτῶν ἦν ἀκαίρου φιλονεικίας τὸ πρᾶγμα. οὐ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀκολουθίας· «τὸν νόμον οὐκ ἀκούετε;» οἷον τί λέγει περὶ ἑαυτοῦ· νόμον δὲ ἐνταῦθα. τὸ πᾶν βιβλίον τῆς κτίσεως καλεῖ· εἰ οὖν τοῦ νόμου φησὶ ἔχεσθε βούλεσθε· ἀπόστητε αὐτοῦ· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτῷ πεισθήσεσθε. τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὸς συμβουλεύει· εἴπερ ἴστε τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ· συμβουλεύει ἀφίστασθαι αὐτοῦ· ἀπόστητε αὐτοῦ· ὅρα δὲ τὴν κατασκευὴν·

1–3 ἐπεὶ — ἰσχυρότατον] cf. *Typ. Par.* 68.12-18 (Chrys. *PG* 61.661.24) 3–4 ἀποκριθῆτε — ἀκολουθίας] cf. comm. 167 4–5 οἷον τί λέγει περὶ αὐτοῦ] not identified 5 νόμον δὲ — καλεῖ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 68.31-32 (Chrys. *PG* 61.661.37, comm. 168) 5–7 εἰ οὖν — κατασκευὴν] cf. comm. 169 5–6 νόμον δὲ — πεισθήσεσθε] cf. Chrys. *PG* 61.661.37

<Gal. 4.22-27> Γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι Ἀβραὰμ δύο υἱοὺς ἔσχεν· ἕνα (ἕνα  $A^{p.r.} B^{p.r.} \Gamma$ ] ἕνα  $A^{a.r.} B^{a.r.}$ ) ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης· καὶ ἕνα ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης, κατὰ σάρκα γεγέννηται· ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας· διὰ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας· ἣτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα· αὗται (αὗται  $\Gamma$ ) γὰρ εἰσι δύο διαθήκαι· μία μὲν ἀπὸ ὅρους Σινᾶ εἰς δουλείαν γεννώσα· ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἄγαρ· τὸ γὰρ Ἄγαρ Σινᾶ ὅρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ· συστοιχεῖ δὲ τῇ νῦν Ἱερουσαλήμ· δουλεύει δὲ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς· ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἐλευθέρα ἐστίν· ἥτις ἐστὶ μήτηρ πάντων ἡμῶν· γέγραπται γὰρ εὐφράνθητι στεῖρα ἢ οὐ τίκτουσα· ῥῆξον καὶ βόησον ἢ οὐκ ὠδίνουσα· ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου μάλλον· ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα·

Ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ἄνεισι πάλιν. ἐπεὶ πολλὴ τοῦ πατριάρχου παρ' Ἰουδαίοις ἦν ἡ δόξα· καὶ δεῖξαι βούλεται τοὺς διὰ τὴν σαρκίνην συγγένειαν ὄντας· σπέρμα τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἦτοι Ἰουδαίους. «κατὰ σάρκα» εἶναι συγγενεῖς· τοὺς δὲ διὰ πίστεως εἰς σπέρμα τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ (ἦτοι Ἰουδαίους, κατὰ σάρκα εἶναι συγγενεῖς· τοὺς δὲ διὰ πίστεως εἰς σπέρμα τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ] om.  $\Gamma$ ) εἰσαγομένους· τουτέστι τοὺς χριστιανούς· κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν εἶναι σπέρμα τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ· ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε φησὶ ἐξεβλήθη ὁ «κατὰ σάρκα» υἱὸς Ἰσμαὴλ· ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν οἱ κατὰ σάρκα συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ Ἰουδαῖοι· τὸν δὲ «κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν» υἱὸν τὸν Ἰσαὰκ. ἔσω μέιναντα λέγει· ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν φησὶ οἱ κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν συγγενεῖς οἱ χριστιανοί· ὅρας ὅτι καὶ ὁ νόμος οἶδεν ἐκβολὴν τῶν αὐτῷ μόνῳ στοιχούντων τουτέστι τῶν Ἰουδαίων; ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἡ πίστις ἡμᾶς συνάπτει τῷ Ἀβραὰμ ὃ ἐδόκει ἀπίθανον· εἰ τοὺς μὴ ἐξ ἐκείνου· τούτους ἐκείνου φησὶ. δείκνυσιν ὡς τὸ παράδοξον τοῦτο. ἄνωθεν γέγονεν· ὁ γὰρ Ἰσαὰκ οὐ κατὰ φύσεως ἀκολουθίαν γενόμενος, καὶ υἱὸς γνήσιος ἦν· καὶ τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα καὶ φύσει γεννηθέντος. τιμιώτερος· εἰκότως δὲ κατὰ σάρκα τὸν Ἰσμαὴλ καλεῖ· νόμῳ γὰρ γεγέννηται φύσεως· ὁ δὲ Ἰσαὰκ, οὐ νόμῳ σαρκὸς· πῶς γὰρ γεννήσει ὁ ἑκατοντάετης· ἀλλὰ «δι' ἐπαγγελίας»· «ἀλληγορούμενα» δὲ· ἀντὶ τοῦ τύποι τῶν μελλουσῶν ἦσαν διαθηκῶν, αἱ τῶν δύο παιδῶν γεννήσεις· οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰ ὁρώμενα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕτερα ἀγορεύουσιν οἱ τόκοι· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀλληγορία· τὸ ἐτέρως νοούμενον· οὐ γὰρ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἀνεῖλεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ προτυπωθέντα διδάσκει· ἡ μὲν γὰρ παιδίσκη «Ἄγαρ». τύπος ἐστὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς· τῷ καὶ αὐτὴν δούλους τοῦ νόμου γεννᾷ· ἡ δὲ ἐλευθέρα τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, τῷ καὶ ἐλευθέρους τοῦ



ζυγοῦ τοῦ νόμου τίκτειν· «τὸ Σινᾶ γὰρ ὅρος ἐν Ἀραβία ἐστίν» · ἐν ᾧ νόμος ἐδόθη Μωσεῖ· γειτνιάζον τῇ Ἱερουσαλήμ. καὶ τῇ Ἀράβων (Ἀράβων Γ] Ἀρράβων ΑΒ) γλώσσῃ Ἄγαρ καλούμενον· ὡς εἶναι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος γινῶναι τὸν τύπον· ἐγγὺς τῆς ἀληθείας γινόμενον. «εἰς δουλείαν γεννῶσα»· τίνος· τοῦ νόμου· τὸ δὲ «συστοιχεῖ»· ἀντὶ τοῦ γειτνιάζει συνάπτεται· καὶ δουλεύει μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἥτοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων· τῷ νόμῳ· τίς· ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη· ἥς τύπος ἡ Ἄγαρ· τῆς δὲ Σάρρας τύπος, «ἡ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ». ἡ «ἐλευθέρα» τῶν ἐν νόμῳ παρατηρήσεων· ἥτοι ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐλευθέρα. τῷ μὴ δουλεύειν νόμῳ· δείκνυσιν δὲ καὶ τὴν προφητείαν συμφωνοῦσαν τῷ τύπῳ διὰ τοῦ εἰπεῖν. «εὐφράνθητι στεῖρα»· ὡς γὰρ ἡ Σάρρα στεῖρα οὖσα ἐνίκησεν ἐν τῷ σπέρματι τὴν Ἄγαρ, οὕτω καὶ ἡ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἐκκλησία ἐνίκησε τὴν συναγωγὴν· «ῥῆξον» δὲ· ἡ τὴν στείρωσιν εἰς τοκετὸν. ἡ φωνὴν εἰς εὐφροσύνην· ἐγκελεύεται (ἐγκελεύεται Α] ἐγκλείεται ΒΓ) γὰρ διὰ τούτων ὁ προφήτης τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· ἐπὶ εὐφροσύνῃ βοῆσαι καὶ ἔρημον καὶ στεῖραν καλεῖ τὴν ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἐκκλησίαν· καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἔρημος πρὸ τοῦ πιστεῦσαι παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ· ἔχουσα δὲ ἄνδρα τὸν διευθύνοντα. καὶ οἶον προνοοῦντα καλεῖ τὴν συναγωγὴν· ἡ ὡς ἔχουσιν τὸν νόμον. ἡ ὡς ἔχουσα πάλαι τὴν ἐποψίαν τοῦ θεοῦ· ἄλλος· δύο γυναικῶν ἀνὴρ· δύο παίδων πατὴρ γέγονεν Ἀβραάμ· ἄλλ· ὁ μὲν ἐκ δούλης· ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἐλευθέρης ἐβλάστησε. συμφωνεῖ ταῦτα τοῖς ἡμετέροις· καθὼς γὰρ ἐκεῖ δύο παῖδες δύο μητέρες εἰς δὲ πατὴρ, οὕτω κἀνταῦθα. (κἀνταῦθα Γ) δύο διαθήκαι· δύο λαοί· εἰς δὲ θεὸς καὶ τῆς μὲν πρῶτης ἡ Ἄγαρ εἰκὼν, ἡ δούλη· τῆς δὲ δευτέρας. Σάρρα ἡ ἐλευθέρα· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Σινᾶ. ὅτι ὁ παλαιὸς νόμος ἐκεῖθεν· ἔνθα τὸ τῆς Ἄγαρ γένος ἐσκήνωτο· ὁ συμφωνεῖ τῇ κάτω Ἱερουσαλήμ· ἡ δὲ Σάρρα· τῆς ἐπουρανίου, ἥς τέκνα ἡμεῖς· ἐλευθέρα· ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔσχε τὸν τοῦ νόμου ζυγὸν· οὐκοῦν (οὐκ οὖν ΒΓ) ἐλεύθεροι καὶ οἱ ἐξ αὐτῆς· γυναικῶν δὲ ὀνόματα θεῖς· ἐνέμεινε τῇ τροπῇ·

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**1** ἐπὶ τὸν — δόξα] cf. *Typ. Par.* 69.1-2 (Chrys. *PG* 61.661.40) **2–9** δείξαι — Ἰουδαίων] comm. 170  
**9–12** ἐπεὶ γὰρ — τιμιώτερος] cf. *Typ. Par.* 69.11-22 (Chrys. *PG* 61.661.58) **12–14** εἰκότως —  
ἐπαγγελίας] comm. 171 **14–16** ἀντὶ τοῦ — ἀλληγορία] comm. 172 **16–17** τὸ ἐτέρως — διδάσκει]  
comm. 172a **17–21** ἡ μὲν — γινόμενον] comm. 173 **22** τοῦ νόμου] comm. 174 **22** συστοιχεῖ —  
συνάπτεται] cf. comm. 176, *Typ. Par.* 71.13 (Chrys. *PG* 61.662.40) **23** δουλεύει — παλαιὰ διαθήκη]

comm. 177 23–25 ἡς τύπος — ἡ ἐκκλησία] cf. comm. 178 25–26 ἐλευθέρα — τῷ τύπῳ] cf. Theodoret PG 82.492.1826–27 ὥς γὰρ — συναγωγὴν] cf. comm. 179 27–29 ῥῆξον — βοηθῆσαι] comm. 180 29–30 ἔρημον — ἀγαθοῦ] comm. 181 30–31 ἔχουσα — συναγωγὴ] comm. 18231–38 ἢ ὥς ἔχουσιν — νόμου ζυγὸν] cf. Theodoret PG 82.492.5 38–39 οὐκ οὖν — τροπῇ] not identified

<Gal. 4.28-5.1> *ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀδελφοί (ἀδελφοὶ Γ) κατὰ Ἰσαὰκ ἐπαγγελίας τέκνα ἐσμέν· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τότε ὁ κατὰ σάρκα γεννηθεὶς ἐδίωκε τὸν κατὰ πνεῦμα· οὕτως καὶ νῦν· ἀλλὰ τί λέγει ἡ γραφή· ἔκβαλε τὴν παιδίσκην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς· οὐ γὰρ μὴ κληρονομήσει (κληρονομήσῃ Α) ὁ υἱὸς τῆς παιδίσκης· μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἐλευθέρας· ἄρα ἀδελφοί οὐκ ἐσμέν παιδίσκης τέκνα· ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐλευθέρας· τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ (ἐλευθερίᾳ ΑΒ] ἐλευθέρᾳ Γ) οὖν ἡ Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἠλευθέρωσε, στήκετε· καὶ μὴ πάλιν ζυγῷ δουλείας ἐνέχεσθε·*

Οὐ γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν· ἀλλὰ κατὰ χάριν ἐτέχθημεν ὥς Ἰσαὰκ· οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἡ στεῖρα νόμῳ ἐγέννησε φύσεως· ἀλλὰ χάριτι θεία· οὔτε ἡ ἐκκλησία νόμῳ φύσεως ἐγέννησεν ἐν τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ· ἀλλὰ θεία χάριτι· κάκεῖ γὰρ ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος· τὸ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἐλεύθερον τὸ βρέφος διέπλασε· καὶ νῦν τὰ τοῦ ἱερέως ῥήματα καθάπερ ἐν νηδύϊ· τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ εἰσιόντα· ἀναγεννᾷ τὸν βαπτιζόμενον· οὐκ οὖν εἰ τῆς στεῖρας ἐσμέν παῖδες· καὶ ἐλεύθεροι ἐσμέν· ἀλλὰ μὴ δὲ τοῦτο θροεῖτω ἡμᾶς· τὸ τοὺς πεπιστευκότας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπίστων ἐλαύνεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ τύπῳ προέλαβεν· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἴσχυσεν· καὶ γὰρ Ἰσμαὴλ «ὁ κατὰ σάρκα γεννηθεὶς· τὸν (τὸν ΑΒΓ] τὴν Γ<sup>a.c.</sup>) κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν» ἐδίωκε· «τί γὰρ φησι ἡ γραφή»· τὰ γὰρ ῥήματα τῆς Σάρρας· τῆς γραφῆς εἶπε ῥήματα· ἄκουσον ὀμικροψυχῶν τοῖς διωγμοῖς. «ἔκβαλε τὴν παιδίσκην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν»· εἶδες τὰ ἐπίχειρα τῆς προσκαίρου τυραννίδος; ὥστε καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ προεζωγραφεῖτο τῇ παλαιᾷ· ἡ τῶν ἰουδαίων ἔκπτωσις καὶ ἐκβολή· καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν ὥς διότι ἐδίωκεν ἐξεβάλλετο· ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ κληρονομήσῃ· δεικνὺς ὅτι καὶ τοῦ διωγμοῦ χωρὶς ἄνωθεν ἦν τοῦτο τετυπωμένον· καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἔχει χώραν τὰ νόμιμα ἐπὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς· ταῦτα εἰπὼν, συλλογίζεται· «ἄρα ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐσμέν παιδίσκης τέκνα»· εἰ οὖν οὐκ ἐσμέν παιδίσκης τέκνα οὐδὲ δοῦλοι, πῶς τῇ τοῦ νόμου δουλείᾳ ἑαυτοὺς ὑποβάλλομεν· ἰουδαίων τύπος ἡ Ἄγαρ οὐχ ἡμῶν Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν·

ἄλλος· ὁ τιμὴν (ὁ τιμὴν] ὅτι μὴν ΒΓ) δοὺς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν· δεῖ οὖν ἐστάναι ἐν τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ. τῇ δοθείσῃ ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ· τὸ δὲ «στήκετε»· σαλευομένους δηλοῖ· καὶ τὸ πάλιν, ἀναισθησίαν αὐτῶν κατηγορεῖ· «ζυγὸν» δὲ εἰπὼν. τὸ βαρὺ δείκνυσιν τῆς τοῦ νόμου δουλείας· ζυγὸν γὰρ δουλείας· τὴν κατὰ νόμον λέγει ζυγὸν· ἐλευθερίαν δὲ. τὴν ἐν χάριτι πολιτείαν·

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1 οὐ γὰρ — Ἰσαὰκ] cf. Theodoret PG 82.492.30 1–3 οὔτε γὰρ — χάριτι] cf. comm. 183 3–6 γὰρ ὁ — θρεῖτω ἡμᾶς] cf. Typ. Par. 73.1-15 (Chrys. PG 61.663.28) 6–7 τὸ τοὺς — προέλαβεν] cf. Theodoret PG 82.492.36 7–8 ἀλλ’ οὐκ — ἐδίωκε] not identified 8–9 τί γὰρ — ῥήματα] cf. Theodoret PG 82.492.42 9–12 ἄκουσον — τετυπωμένον] cf. Typ. Par. 73.21-33 (Chrys. PG 61.664.4) 10–11 ὥστε — ἐκβολῇ] cf. comm. 186 12–14 καὶ ὅτι — τέκνα] not identified 14–15 εἰ οὖν — ἐξηγόρασεν] cf. comm. 187 16 ὁ τιμὴν δοὺς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν] not identified 16–17 δεῖ οὖν — δηλοῖ] cf. comm. 188 17–18 τὸ πάλιν — δουλείας] cf. comm. 189 18–19 ζυγὸν γὰρ — πολιτείαν] cf. Theodoret PG 82.493.2

<Gal. 5.2-5> Ἴδε ἐγὼ Παῦλος λέγω ὑμῖν· ὅτι ἐὰν περιτέμνησθε· Χριστὸς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν ὠφελήσεται· μαρτύρομαι δὲ πάλιν παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ· περιτεμνομένῳ· ὅτι ὀφειλέτης ἐστὶν ὅλον τὸν νόμον ποιῆσαι. κατηγορήθητε ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ· οἵτινες ἐν νόμῳ δικαιούσθε· τῆς χάριτος ἐξεπέσετε (ἐξεπέσεται Β)· ἡμεῖς γὰρ πνεύματι ἐκ πίστεως· ἐλπίδα δικαιοσύνης ἀπεκδεχόμεθα.

Πῶς Χριστὸς οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ὠφελήσεται· καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τοῦτο οὐ κατεσκεύασεν· ἀλλ’ ἀπεφάνητο· ὡς τῆς ἀξιοπιστίας τοῦ προσώπου ἀρκούσης ἀντὶ πάσης ἀποδείξεως· «Ἴδε» γὰρ φησι «ἐγὼ παῦλος»· διαρρήδην φησὶν καὶ ἄντικρυς (ἄντικρυς] ἀντικρὺ ΑΒΓ) «ὑμῖν ἐγὼ Παῦλος λέγω»· ὅτι τῆς περιτομῆς ἀντεχόμενοι, οὐδὲ μίαν ὄνησιν ἐκ τῆς πίστεως ἔχετε· ὁ γὰρ περιτεμνόμενος· ὡς δεδοικὼς νόμον περιτέμνεται· ὁ δὲ (δὲ] om. ΒΓ) δεδοικὼς, ἀπιστεῖ τῇ δυνάμει τῆς χάριτος· ὁ δὲ ἀπιστῶν. οὐδὲν κερδαίνει ἐκ τῆς ἀπιστουμένης· εἴτα καὶ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ μὴ ὠφελεῖσθε διὰ βραχέων τίθησι λέγων· «μαρτύρομαι δὲ πάλιν παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ»· εἰκότως· ὁ γὰρ κατὰ ἔντι νόμον τηρῶν· ἀνάγκην ἔχει πάντα τηρεῖν· ἢ πάντα οἰχήσεται· ἐπαρᾶται γὰρ τοῖς μὴ

πάντα πληροῦσιν· οὐ μόνον οὖν ὑμῖν φησὶ ἀλλὰ καὶ παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦτο διαμαρτύρομαι· ἂν γὰρ δέξῃ τί τοῦ νόμου μικρόν, ὅλην ἐφειλκύσω (ἐφειλκύσω A] ἐφελκύσω BΓ) τὴν δεσποτείαν· τὸ δὲ «κατηργήθητε». ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπεκόπητε· ἐξεπέσετε ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ· ἀνωφελῇ ὑμῖν λοιπόν τὰ κατὰ Χριστὸν πάντα· καὶ ἡ χάρις αὐτοῦ· δικαιώσθε οὖν τοῦ νόμου σπουδάζοντες, «τῆς χάριτος ἐξεπέσετε» (ἐξεπέσετε AB<sup>p.c.\*</sup>Γ] ἐξπέσετε B<sup>a.c.</sup>)· κατασείσας οὖν τῷ φόβῳ καὶ δείξας τὸ ναυάγιον· ἀνοίγνυσι (ἀνοίγνυσι A Typ.Par.] ἀνοίγειν ΓB<sup>a.r.</sup>: ἀνοίγει B<sup>p.r.</sup>) αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς χάριτος τὸν λιμένα λέγων· «ἡμεῖς γὰρ πνεύματι ἐκ πίστεως»· ἡμεῖς φησὶ οἱ πιστοὶ οὐκ ἐκ νόμου σώζεσθαι προσδοκῶμεν. ἀλλὰ δια πνεύματος ἁγίου «ἐλπίδα δικαιοσύνης ἀπεκδεχόμεθα»· καλῶς δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐκ πίστεως· δεῖ γὰρ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἡγήσασθαι πίστιν, καὶ οὕτως τὴν διὰ πνεύματος λαμβάνειν δικαίωσιν· οὐδενὸς οὖν ἐκείνων δεόμεθα· ἀρκεῖ γὰρ ἡ πίστις. πνεῦμα παρασχεῖν καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ δικαιοσύνην· καὶ τᾶλλα (τᾶλλα] τᾶλλα A : τᾶλλα BΓ) ἀγαθὰ·

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1–2 πῶς Χριστὸς — ἀποδείξεως] cf. Typ. Par. 75.19-12 (Chrys. PG 61.665.4)      2 τῆς ἀξιοπιστίας — ἀποδείξεως] cf. comm. 190      2–4 ἴδε γὰρ — ἔχετε] cf. Theodoret PG 82.493.94      4–7 ὁ γὰρ περιτεμνόμενος — λέγων] cf. Typ. Par. 75.16-25 (Chrys. PG 61.665.4)      7–8 ὁ γὰρ κατὰ — οἰχήσεται] cf. comm. 192  
8–9 ἐπάραται — διαμαρτύρομαι] not identified      9–10 ἂν γὰρ — δεσποτείαν] cf. Typ. Par. 76.1 (Chrys. PG 61.665.28)      11–12 ἀπεκόπητε — χάρις αὐτοῦ] cf. comm. 193      12–15 τῆς χάριτος — ἐκ πίστεως] cf. Typ. Par. 76.4-10 (Chrys. PG 61.665.4)      15–18 ἡμεῖς — δικαίωσιν] cf. comm. 195  
18–19 οὐδενός — ἀγαθὰ] cf. Typ. Par. 76.13-15 (Chrys. PG 61.666.10)

<Gal. 5.6-10> *Ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὔτε περιτομή τι ἰσχύει· οὔτε ἀκροβυστία· ἀλλὰ πίστις δι’ ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη· ἐτρέχετε καλῶς· τίς ὑμᾶς ἐνέκοψε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι· (πείθεσθε B) ἡ πεισμονὴ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦντος ὑμᾶς· μικρὰ ζύμη, ὅλον τὸ φύραμα ζυμοῖ· ἐγὼ πέποιθα εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν Κυρίῳ· ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο φρονήσετε· ὁ δὲ ταράσσων ὑμᾶς, βαστάσει τὸ κρῖμα ὅστις ἂν ᾗ·*

Περιτομῆς φησιν καὶ ἀκροβυστίας διαφορὰν. (διαφορὰν BΓ] διαφορὰ) ἡ χάρις καὶ ἡ πίστις

(ἀνεῖλεν· ὡς μὴδ' ἐτέραν δύνασθαι βλάπτειν ἢ ὠφελεῖν. ἀλλὰ πίστις AB] om. Γ) ἀνεῖλεν· ὡς μὴδ' ἐτέραν δύνασθαι βλάπτειν ἢ ὠφελεῖν. «ἀλλὰ πίστις ἐνεργουμένη»· οὐ γὰρ ἀρκῇ πιστεῦσαι μόνον· ἀλλ' ἐνεργεῖσθαι τὴν πίστιν ἡγουν ἀναζωπυρεῖσθαι. διὰ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν ἀγάπης· αἰνίττεται δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν. πρὸς τὸν νόμον ἠτομόλησαν. καὶ δουλείαν ἐλευθερίας ἠλλάξαντο· εἴτα ἐπαινεῖ μὲν τὸν δρόμον· καταθρηνεῖ δὲ τὴν τοῦ δρόμου παύλαν λέγων· «ἐτρέχετε καλῶς»· τὸ δὲ «τίς»· οὐκ ἐρωτῶντος ἐστίν· ἀλλ' ἀποροῦντος καὶ ὀλοφυρομένου· πῶς ὁ τοσοῦτος ἐνεκόπη δρόμος. ὥσει ἔλεγεν· εἰς τελειότητα ἦτε φθάσαντες· τίς τοσοῦτον ἴσχυσεν· ὥστε ἐμποδίσαι ὑμᾶς τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου μὴ πείθεσθε· ἀλλὰ τύποις ἐμμένειν· ἢ πεισμονή φησιν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦντος· τουτέστι τὸ πεισθῆναι τοῖς λέγουσι περιτέμνεσθαι· οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ καλοῦντος· οἷον οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς ὁ καλῶν· ὥστε οὕτως σαλεύεσθαι. τῆς μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ χάριτος ἦν· τὸ καλέσαι· τὸ δοῦναι τὴν χάριν τοῦ πνεύματος· τὸ μέντοι μένειν βεβαίους ἐπὶ τῆς πίστεως, ὑμέτερον· ἢ οὕτως· ἴδιον μὲν θεοῦ. τὸ καλεῖν· τὸ δὲ πείθεσθαι, τῶν ἀκουόντων· εἴτα ἵνα μὴ λέγῃ τί τοσοῦτον καθήψω ἡμῶν· μίαν ἐντολὴν τοῦ νόμου φυλαξάντων. ἄκουσον πῶς φοβεῖ· μικρὰ ζύμη ὅλον τὸ φύραμα ζυμοῖ· δέδοικα φησὶ τὴν τῆς νόσου μετάδοσιν· ὡς γὰρ ἡ ζύμη ὅλον κινῶ τὸ φύραμα. οὕτως καὶ ὑμᾶς ἰσχύει φησὶν τὸ μικρὸν τοῦτο κακὸν ἢ περιτομή. εἰς τέλειον Ἰουδαϊσμόν ἀγαγεῖν μὴ διορθωθέν· καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν θαρρῶ ἐφ' ὑμῖν· τοῦτο γὰρ πέποιθα· ὅτι δι' ὀρθώσεσθε καὶ οὐδὲν φρονήσετε παρὰ τὴν διδαχὴν μου· ὁ δὲ θαρρύνοντός ἐστι· καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν φρονεῖτε· ἀλλὰ «φρονήσετε»· τοῖς γὰρ γεγεννημένοις ἐπιμεμφόμενος. εὐχεται ἰδεῖν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον μεταβολὴν· ἀορίστως δὲ τέθεικε τὸ «ὁ δὲ ταράσσων ὑμᾶς ὅστις ἂν ᾖ»· ἵνα κἂν μεγάλας περὶ αὐτῶν ἔχωσι δόξας· μάθωσιν ὡς δίκας ὀφείλουσι τῷ θεῷ· ἢ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐπεμνήσθη τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν ἐπιβούλων, ἵνα μὴ ἀναισχυνοτέρους ἐργάσῃται· «ὅστις ἂν ᾖ»· ἐπαίρων καὶ οὕτως τὸν λόγον· οὐ γὰρ αἰδεῖται πρόσωπον· ὅτ᾽ ἢ ἀλήθεια κρίνεται·

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1–2 περιτομῆς — ἀνεῖλεν] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.493.36 2–3 ὡς μὴδ' — ὠφελεῖν] cf. comm. 196 3–5 οὐ γὰρ ἀρκῇ — ἠτομόλησαν] cf. comm. 197 5–6 ἐπαινεῖ — λέγων] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.493.42 6–7 ἐτρέχετε — δρόμος] cf. *Typ. Par.* 76.31–34 (cf. Chrys. *PG* 61.666.44) 7–9 ὥσει ἔλεγεν — πείθεσθε] cf. comm. 198 9–13 ἀλλὰ τύποις — ὑμέτερον] cf. *Typ. Par.* 77.1–9 (Θεοδώρου) (cf. Chrys. *PG*

61.666.44) **9–10** ἡ πεισμονή — καλοῦντος] cf. comm. 199 **13** ἴδιον — ἀκουόντων] cf. comm. 199a  
**13–15** εἶτα ἵνα — φύραμα ζυμοῖ ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 77.9-13 (Θεοδώρου) (Chrys. *PG* 61.666.54, Damasc. *PG* 95.809.48) **14** τί τοσοῦτον φυλαξάντων] cf. comm. 200.1 **15** δέδοικα — μετάδοσιν] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.493.47 **15–18** ὡς γὰρ — θαρρύνοντος ἐστι] cf. comm. 200.2 **18–21** καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν — τῷ θεῷ ] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.493.51 **21–23** οὐκ ἐπεμνήσθη — κρίνεται] cf. *Typ. Par.* 77.30-33 (Chrys. *PG* 61.667.30)

<Gal. 5.11-12> *Ἐγὼ δὲ ἀδελφοί· εἰ περιτομὴν ἔτι (ἔτι] om. Γ) κηρύσσω· τί ἔτι διώκομαι· ἄρα κατήργηται τὸ σκάνδαλον τοῦ σταυροῦ· ὄφελον· καὶ ἀποκόψονται οἱ ἀναστατοῦντες ὑμᾶς·*

Ἐπειδὴ οἱ κακοὶ τοῦ νόμου συνήγοροι διέβαλλον αὐτὸν· ὡς πολλαχοῦ ἰουδαϊζοντος καὶ ὑποκρινόμενον τὸ κήρυγμα· ὅρα πῶς ἀποδύεται μάρτυρας αὐτοὺς καλῶν· οἶδα γὰρ φησιν καὶ ὑμεῖς ὅτι ἡ τοῦ διωγμοῦ πρόφασις τοῦτο ἐστίν· ὅτι κηρύσσω ἀπέχεσθαι νόμου· εἰ δὲ περιτομὴν κηρύσσω· τί διώκομαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχουσί τι ἕτερον ἐγκαλεῖν μοι· οὐκ εἶπεν δὲ ὅτι περιτομὴν οὐκ ἐργάζομαι· ἀλλ' οὐ κηρύττω· οὐ γὰρ τὸ εἰς τιμόθεον γεγονὸς δι' οἰκονομίαν πρόσκαιρον· καλὸν ἔλκεσθαι εἰς δόγμα· ἦν γὰρ περιτεμὼν τιμόθεον· ἵν' εὐπαράδεκτος ἰουδαίοις γένηται· εἰ τοῦτο ἐστίν ὃ φατέ ὅτι περιτομὴν κηρύσσω· κατήργηται ἄρα τὸ σκάνδαλον τοῦ σταυροῦ· τουτέστι τὸ κώλυμα· τὸ ἐμπόδιον ἀνήρηται· λέλυται ἢ πρὸς τὸν σταυρὸν φιλονεικία τῶν Ἰουδαίων· διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο νῦν τῷ σταυρῷ ἀντιμάχονται· ὅτι λύει περιτομὴν· καὶ κελεύει τῶν πατρῶων ἐξίστασθε θεσμῶν· ἐπεὶ δὲ καλῶς ἐπαίδευσε τοὺς ἡπατημένους· τρέπεται πρὸς τοὺς ἡπατηκότας· περὶ ὑμῶν οὖν μοι μέλει· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀναστατούντων ὑμᾶς ὡς ἀνίατα νοσοῦντων· οὐκ ἔτι· εἴθε γὰρ καὶ τέλεον ἐξέτεμον ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἀποκόπους ἐποίησαν· οἱ τὴν τῆς περιτομῆς ὑμῶν ἐξ ἀπάτην προσφέροντες· ποῦ οὖν εἰσὶν οἱ ἀποτέμοντες ἑαυτοὺς· καὶ τὸ μέρος ὡς ἐπίβουλون ἀποκόπτοντες· καὶ τοῖς μανιχαίοις· ἐπίβουλون λέγουσιν εἶναι τὸ σῶμα· καὶ τῆς ὕλης τῆς πονηραῆς· οὐκ ἀποκοπτέτωσαν μᾶλλον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς· δι' ὧν ἡ ἐπιθυμία πρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν εἴσεισιν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τούτων αἴτιον· ἀλλ' ἡ προαίρεσις·

1 ἐπειδὴ — συνήγοροι] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.496.3      1–5 διέβαλλον — πρόσκαιρον] cf. *Typ. Par.* 78.3-12 (Θεοδώρου) (Chrys. *PG* 61.667.33)      5–6 καλὸν ἔλκεσθαι εἰς δόγμα] not identified      6–7 ἦν γὰρ — κυρήσω] cf. comm. 202.a      7–8 κατήργηται ἄρα — τῶν Ἰουδαίων] cf. *Typ. Par.* 78.13-25 (cf. Chrys. *PG* 61.668.20)      8–9 λελυται — λύει περιτομὴν] cf. comm. 203      9–10 κελεύει — ἡπατηκότας] cf. *Typ. Par.* 78.32-79.9 (Chrys. *PG* 61.668.40)      10–11 περὶ ὑμῶν — οὐκ ἔτι ] cf. comm. 204      11–13 εἴθε γὰρ — προσφέροντες] cf. comm. 204a and 204      13–16 ποῦ οὖν — προαίρεσις] cf. *Typ. Par.* 79.9-18 (Chrys. *PG* 61.668.40)

<Gal. 5.13-15> *ὁμοῖς γὰρ ἐπ’ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἐκλήθητε ἀδελφοί· μόνον μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εἰς ἀφορμὴν τῇ σαρκί· ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης δουλεύετε ἀλλήλοις· ὁ γὰρ πᾶς νόμος· ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ πληροῦται· ἐν τῷ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς ἐαυτόν· (ἐαυτὸν ] σεαυτόν NA28) εἰ δὲ ἀλλήλους δάκνετε καὶ κατεσθίετε· βλέπετε μὴ ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων ἀναλωθῇτε·*

Εἰς ἠθικὴν ἐντεῦθεν μεταβαίνει παραίνεσιν· καὶ ἀρετῆς φροντίζειν παρεγγυᾷ· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐλευθερίαν εἶπεν πολλαχοῦ καὶ ἀπαλλαγὴν διὰ Χριστοῦ γενομένην· ἵνα μὴ νομίσωσιν ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ ἀδεῶς πολιτεύεσθαι· διορθοῦται τοῦτο καὶ φησὶν· οὐ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπὸ τοῦ ζυγοῦ τοῦ νόμου ἡλευθερώθημεν ἵν’ ἀδεῶς ἀμαρτάνομεν· οὐχ ἵνα τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ πρὸς κακίαν χρησώμεθα· ἀλλ’ ἵνα μείζονος μισθοῦ πρόφασιν λάβωμεν· μὴ οὖν ἀποχρήσησθε τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ εἰς τὸ δουλεύειν τῇ σαρκί· ἐλύθητε γὰρ τῶν τοῦ νόμου ζυγῶν· ἵνα χωρὶς ζυγοῦ βαδίζητε εὐρυθymα· εἴτα δείκνυσι καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς κατορθώσεως· ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης φησι. δουλεύετε ἀλλήλοις (ἀλλήλους Γ) · ὁ γὰρ ἀγαπῶν, οὐδὲ δουλεύειν παραιτεῖται τῷ φιλουμένῳ· τὸ ἐπιτεταμένον οὖν τῆς ἀγάπης δείκνυσι διὰ τούτου· εἰπὼν δὲ δουλεύετε· ἔδειξεν ὡς ἐξ ἀπονοίας καὶ τύφου ἔλαβεν ἀρχὴν τὸ κακὸν· μήτηρ γὰρ πασῶν αἰρέσεων· ἡ τῆς φιλαρχίας ἐπιθυμία· οὐκ εἶπεν δὲ ἀγαπᾶτε. ἀλλὰ δουλεύετε· τὴν ἐπιτεταγμένην φιλίαν δηλῶν· καὶ τὸν τοῦ νόμου ζυγὸν ἀφελὼν ἵνα μὴ ἀποσκορπῇσιν· ἕτερον αὐτοῖς ἐπιτίθησι· τὸν τῆς ἀγάπης ζυγόν· ἰσχυρότερον μὲν· κουφότερον δὲ· εἰ ὅλως δὲ πληροῦν νόμον θέλετε· μὴ ἐν τῷ περιτέμενεσθαι· ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλήλους πληροῦτε· ἐντεῦθεν δὲ δῆλον, ὡς οἱ μὲν ἀπατηθέντες περιετμήθησαν· οἱ δὲ ἔμμενον καὶ ἐμάχοντο·

οἱ μὲν τὰ τοῦ νόμου· οἱ δὲ τὰ τῆς χάριτος ἐπαινοῦντες ! τῇ ἀγάπῃ οὖν αὐτοὺς ἀσφαλίζεται· τῇ παρ’ ἀμφοτέρων ἐπαινούμενῃ· ἅγαν ἐμφαντικῶς δὲ ταῖς λέξεσιν ἐχρήσατο· δάκνετε· ὅπερ ἐστὶ θυμουμένου· ἀλλὰ κατεσθίετε· ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐμμένοντες τῇ πονηρίᾳ· εἰ μέλλοιτε φησὶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὕτω φιλονεικῶς διατίθεσθαι· οὕτω φιλονεικεῖν ἀνενδότως· οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν ωφελήσετε (ὠφέλησετε Β : ὠφελήσετε Γ) ἔξω γενέσθαι τῆς εὐσεβείας ποιήσετε· καὶ καλῶς ἀνάλωσιν καλεῖ· ἅτε μείωσιν ἐργαζομένων τῷ κοινῷ· τῶν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀναχωρούντων· ἢ οὕτως· δάκνειν λέγειν (om. λέγειν ΒΓ)· καὶ ἔτι ἐπιτακτικώτερον κατεσθίειν· τὸ τὰ τοιαῦτα δόγματα παρεμβαλλεῖν· οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτον τὸ σῶμα δαπανᾶται κατεσθιόμενον· ὅσον ψυχῇ φθεῖρεται διὰ τῶν τοιούτων δογμάτων· τὸ δὲ βλέπετε· ποιοῦντος ἐστὶν· εἰκὸς δὲ μὴ περὶ δογμάτων μόνον· καὶ τὸ ἀναλωθῆτε. καλὸν· ἢ γὰρ διάστασις καὶ ἡ μάχη φθοροποιὸν (φθοροποιὸν ΒΓ) καὶ ἀναλωτικόν·

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**1** εἰς ἠθικὴν — παρεγγυᾷ] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.496.24      **1–3** ἐπεὶ δὲ — τοῦτο καὶ φησὶν] cf. *Typ. Par.* 79.29-80-2    **3–4** οὐ διὰ — ἀμαρτάνομεν] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.496.26      **4–5** οὐχ ἵνα — λάβωμεν] cf. *Typ. Par.* 79.29 (cf. Chrys. *PG* 61.66949) **5–6** μὴν οὖν — τῇ σαρκί] cf. comm. 206 **6–7** ἐλύθητε — κατορθώσεως] cf. *Typ. Par.* 80.1-3 (cf. Chrys. *PG* 61.670.2) **7–8** ἀλλὰ διὰ — φιλοῦμένῳ] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.496.31 **8–9** τὸ ἐπιτεταμένον — διὰ τούτου] cf. comm. 208cf. (cf. *Typ. Par.* 80.13-17)      **9–14** εἰπὼν δὲ — πληροῦτε] cf. *Typ. Par.* 80.5-22 (cf. Chrys. *PG* 61.670.5) **14–15** ἐντέθυθεν — ἐπαινοῦντες] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.496.42    **15–16** τῇ ἀγάπῃ — ἐπαινούμενῃ] not identified **16–17** ἐμφαντικῶς — πονηρίᾳ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 80.29-31 (cf. Chrys. *PG* 61.670.43) **17–20** εἰ μέλλοιτε — ἀναχωρούντων] cf. *Typ. Par.* 81.6-11 (Θεόδωρος) **20–23** δακνεῖν — δογμάτων μόνον] cf. comm. 210      **23–24** ἢ γὰρ — ἀναλωτικόν] cf. *Typ. Par.* 81.4 (cf. Chrys. *PG* 61.670.57)

<Gal. 5.16-17> *Λέγω δὲ πνεύματι περιπατεῖτε, καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκὸς οὐ μὴ τελέσητε· ἢ γὰρ σὰρξ ἐπιθυμεῖ κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος· τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα κατὰ τῆς σαρκὸς ταῦτα δὲ ἀντίκειται ἀλλήλοις· ἵνα μὴ ἃ ἂν θέλητε, ταῦτα ποιῆτε·*

Εἰπὼν τὸ ποιοῦν τὴν νόσον· λέγει καὶ τὸ τὴν ὑγείαν χαριζόμενον φάρμακον· τὸ πνεύματι



ζῆν· τῷ ἄγοντι τέκνα θεοῦ· οὐ νόμῳ τῷ ἀπειλοῦντι δούλοις· κατὰ πνεῦμα φησι καὶ ὡς αὐτῷ δοκεῖ  
 βιοῦτε· καὶ οὐκ ἂν πληρώσητε ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκός· σάρκα δὲ οὐ τὸ σῶμα λέγει ἐνταῦθα· πῶς γὰρ  
 σωθεῖη· τὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἀντίκεινται ἀλλήλοις· ἐπεὶ τὸ σῶμα· οὐ τῶν κοινωνούντων (κοινωνούντων  
 B\*Γ ] κοινωνούντων AB<sup>c</sup>) ἐστίν· ἀλλὰ τῶν κινουμένων· ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῆς ψυχῆς ἐστίν· οὕτως γάρ  
 φησι ἐπιθυμεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου πρὸς σὲ ὁ θεὸς· οἶδεν οὖν σάρκα καλεῖν· οὐ τὸ σῶμα· ἀλλὰ τὴν  
 πονηρὰν προαίρεσιν· ὡς ὅτ᾽ ἀν λέγη· ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἐστὲ ἐν σαρκί· ἀλλ' ἐν πνεύματι· οἷον τὸν γεώδη  
 λογισμόν· τὸν ῥαθύμον καὶ ἡμελημένον· τοῦτο δὲ οὐ σώματος κατηγορία· ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς ῥαθύμου  
 ἔγκλημα· ὄργανον γάρ ἐστίν ἡ σὰρξ· εἰ δὲ τῆς προσηγορίας διαβάλλειν ἐπιχειρεῖς· ὥρα σοι καὶ  
 ψυχῆς κατηγορεῖν· ὅτι ψυχικὸς ἄνθρωπος λέγεται· ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐστερημένος· τὰ οὖν ταῦτα  
 ἀντίκειται, περὶ δύο λογισμῶν· οὗτος (οὔτοι ΒΓ) γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἀντίκειται· ἡ ἀρετὴ. Καὶ ἡ  
 κακία· οὐ ψυχὴ καὶ σῶμα·

ἄλλος· σάρκα τὸ σαρκικὸν φρόνιμα· τουτέστι· τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω ῥοπήν· τὰς  
 σαρκικὰς καὶ πονηρὰς ἐπιθυμίας, πνεῦμα δὲ τὴν δεδομένην χάριν λέγει καὶ φησι· ἡ μὲν κακία  
 ἀντίκειται τῇ ἀρετῇ· ἡ δὲ τῇ κακίᾳ· παιδαγωγοῦ τινὸς τάξιν ἀναπληροῦσα· καὶ μὴ ἐῶσα ἡμᾶς  
 κατὰ τὰς φαύλας ἐπιθυμίας πορεύεσθαι·

ἄλλος· σάρκα· τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω τῆς γνώμης ῥοπήν· πνεῦμα τὴν ἐνοικοῦσαν χάριν· ἡ  
 ποδηγεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω· πῶς δὲ δυνατόν τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς πάθη νικῆσαι ; ἐν τῷ ἔπεσθαι  
 τοῖς τῆς σαρκὸς λογισμοῖς·

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**1–2** εἰπὼν — δούλοις] cf. *Typ. Par.* 81.14-17 (cf. Chrys. *PG* 61.671.8)      **1–2** τὸ πνεύματι — τέκνα  
 Θεοῦ] cf. Eusebius *Fr. Gal.* 51.18 **2–3** κατὰ πνεῦμα — σαρκός] cf. comm. 211      **3–5** σάρκα δὲ — ψυχῆς  
 ἐστίν] cf. Chrys. *PG* 61.671.16-20 **5–6** οὕτως γάρ φησι ἐπιθυμεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου πρὸς σὲ ὁ Θεός] not identified  
**6–12** οἶδεν οὖν — ψυχὴ καὶ σῶμα] cf. Ἰωάννου *Cat. Suppl. var. lect. Gal.* (e cod. Oxon. Bodl. Auct.  
 T.1.7 [=misc. 185]) 401.29 **6–7** οἶδεν οὖν — ἀλλ' ἐν πνεύματι] cf. *Typ. Par.* 81.28-31 (cf. Chrys. *PG*  
 61.671.16-17)      **10** ὅτι ψυχικὸς — ἐστερημένος] cf. Chrys. *PG* 61.671.55      **13–14** σάρκα τὸ —  
 λέγει καὶ φησὶ] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.497.14, 30 **14–16** ἡ μὲν κακία — πορεύεσθαι] cf. comm. 212 cf.  
 Damasc. *PG* 95.813.18      **17–19** σάρκα τὴν — λογισμοῖς] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.497.2

<Gal. 5.18-23> Εἰ δὲ πνεύματι ἄγεσθε. οὐκ ἐστὲ ὑπὸ νόμον· φανερὰ δέ ἐστι τὰ ἔργα τῆς σαρκὸς· ἅτινά ἐστι· μοιχεία· πορνεία· ἀκαθαρσία· ἀσέλγεια· (ἀσέλγεια Γ) εἰδωλολατρία· φαρμακεία· ἔχθραι· ἔρις· ζῆλοι· θυμοί· ἐριθείαι· (om. εἰδωλολατρία· φαρμακεία· ἔχθραι· ἔρις· ζῆλοι· θυμοί· ἐριθείαι· Γ) διχοστασίαι· αἰρέσεις· φόνοι· φθόνοι· μέθαι· κῶμοι· καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις· ἃ προλέγω ὑμῖν· καθὼς καὶ προεῖπον· ὅτι οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες, βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν. ὁ δὲ καρπὸς τοῦ πνεύματος ἐστὶν ἀγάπη· χαρά· εἰρήνη· μακροθυμία· χρηστότης, ἀγαθωσύνη· πίστις· πραότης· ἐγκράτεια· κατὰ τῶν τοιούτων· οὐκ ἔστι νόμος·

Εἰ κατὰ τὴν βουλήν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος περιπατεῖτε. οὐ σφαλῆσεσθε. ὁ γὰρ μὴ παταίῳ οὐ χρήζειν νόμου καὶ τῆς ἐντεῦθεν συμβουλῆς· ὁ δὲ μὴ χρήζων· οὐ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐστίν· ὥς καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ· δικαίῳ νόμος οὐ κεῖται· ὁ γὰρ μὴ ὀργιζόμενος, πῶς χρήζει ἀκούειν τὸ οὐ φονεύσεις· καὶ ὁ μὴ βλέπων ἀκολάστως· πῶς χρήζει τοῦ παιδεύοντος μὴ μοιχεύειν· εἰπὼν δὲ φανερὰ δέ ἐστι τὰ ἔργα τῆς σαρκὸς· πάλιν σάρκα· τὸν διεφθαρμένον λογισμόν τὸ σαρκικὸν ἐκάλεσε φρόνημα· δῆλον δὲ· καὶ γὰρ εἰδωλολατρία καὶ φαρμακεία οὐ σαρκὸς ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς ἴδια· τί οὖν λέγει ὁ κατηγορῶν τῆς σαρκὸς· ἔστω ἢ πορνεία καὶ ἢ μοιχεία· σαρκὸς πάθος· αἱ αἰρέσεις καὶ αἱ ἔχθραι· οἱ ζῆλοι· καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ· τίνας· οὐ προαιρέσεως διεφθαρμένης· ἀκαθαρσίαν δὲ καὶ ἀσέλγειαν· τρόπους αἰσχροῦς· πορνείας φησὶ «ἔχθρας»· τὰς ἀδίκους· εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ δίκαιοι· αἱ διὰ τὴν εὐσέβειαν· εἰ δυνατόν γὰρ τὸ ἐξ ὑμῶν μετὰ πάντων εἰρηνεύετε· ὥς εἶναι δῆλον· ὅτι ἔστιν ὅτε οὐκ ἔστι δυνατόν· ζήλους· τοὺς οὐκ ἐπαινουμένους· ἐριθείας τὰς ἀπὸ ἔριδος φιλονεικίας· κώμους· τὸ κωμωδεῖν καὶ ἀποσκώπτειν ἀλλοτρίας ὑπολήψεις μετὰ μέθης· ταῦτα πάντα φησὶ· βασιλείας ἀλλοτριοῦ· τὰ δὲ τῶν τιμωριῶν διάφορα· εἰ σώματος οὖν ἐκεῖνα μόνου· ἔδει δειχθῆναι καὶ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς· ἀλλ' οὐ τέθεται· ὥστε σάρκα· τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω λέγει παρατροπὴν· πνεῦμα δὲ τὴν χάριν· διὸ καὶ ἐπήγαγε· τὸ ὁδὲ καρπὸς τοῦ πνεύματος ἔστιν ἀγάπη· ἐκεῖνου γὰρ τῇ ψυχῇ συνεργοῦντος· τούτων ἕκαστον κατορθοῦται· καρπὸν δὲ εἶπεν καὶ οὐκ ἔργον (ἔργων ΒΓ)· ἵνα δείξῃ ὅτι τῆς θείας

δεῖται βοηθείας εἰς τὸ καρποφορῆσαι· πνεύματος δὲ ἡ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρακλήτου· ἡ τοῦ πνευματικοῦ καὶ ἐναρέτου βίου· ἡ καρπὸν εἶπεν πνεύματος· ὅτι τὰ μὲν πονηρὰ ἔργα ἐξ ἡμῶν μόνον γίνεται· διὸ καὶ ἔργα καλεῖ· τὰ δὲ καλὰ οὐ τῆς ἡμετέρας μόνον ἐπιμελείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας· χαρὰν δὲ λέγει· τὸ χαίρειν ἐπὶ θεῷ· τὸ συνείδησιν ἔχειν χρηστήν· οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι χαίρουσιν· οὐκ ἔστι δὲ νόμος κατὰ τῶν ἐπὶ περιττὸς ὁ νόμος τοῖς κατορθοῦσι· τί γὰρ ἂν τις ἐπιτάξειε τῷ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ πάντα ἔχοντι καὶ ἀπηρτισμένως· ὥς γὰρ ἵππος εὐήνιος οὐ δεῖται μάστιγος· οὕτως καὶ ψυχὴ κατορθοῦσα διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος· οὐ δεῖται νόμου παιδαγωγοῦντος·

1–3 εἰ κατὰ — οὐ κεῖται] cf. comm. 213 3–4 ὁ γὰρ μὴ ὀργιζόμενος — μοιχεύειν ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 83.13-15, (*Chrys. PG* 61.672.38, *Damasc. PG* 95.813.38) 4–6 φανερὰ — ψυχῆς ἴδια] cf. *Theodoret PG* 82.497.19 5 πάλιν σάρκα τὸν διεφθαρμένον λογισμόν] cf. comm. 214 6–8 τί οὖν — διεφθαρμένης] cf. *Typ. Par.* 83.28-33 8–9 ἀκαθαρσίαν — πορνείας] cf. comm. 215 9–11 τὰς ἀδίκους — δυνατόν] cf. comm. 216 11 ζήλους· τοὺς οὐκ ἐπαινουμένους] not identified 11 ἐριθείας — φιλονεικίας] cf. comm. 217 11–12 κώμους — μέθης] cf. comm. 218 12–13 βασιλείας — διάφορα] cf. comm. 219 13–16 εἰ σώματος — κατορθοῦται] cf. *Theodoret PG* 82.497.35 16–18 καρπὸν δὲ — βίου] cf. comm. 220 18–20 ἡ καρπὸν — φιλανθρωπίας] cf. *Typ. Par.* 84.18-21 20–21 χαρὰν — χαίρουσιν] cf. comm. 221 21 οὐκ ἔστι — κατορθοῦσι] cf. *Theodoret PG* 82.497.37-39 21–22 τί γὰρ — παιδαγωγοῦντος] cf. *Chrys. PG* 61.674.23, comm. 222

<Gal. 5.24-26> οἱ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν σάρκα ἐσταύρωσαν σὺν τοῖς παθήμασι· καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις· εἰ ζῶμεν πνεύματι, πνεύματι καὶ στοιχῶμεν· μὴ γινώμεθα κενόδοξοι· ἀλλήλους προσκαλούμενοι, (προκαλούμενοι NA 28 et alii) ἀλλήλοις φθονοῦντες·

ἵνα μὴ λέγῃς καὶ τίς τοιοῦτος· δείκνυσι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων κατορθοῦντας· σάρκας πάλιν ἐνταῦθα, τὰς πονηρὰς πράξεις καλῶν· ὁ γὰρ δὴ τὴν σάρκα ἀνείλον· ἐπὶ πῶς ἔμελλον ζῆν· τὸ γὰρ ἐσταυρωμένον· ἀνενέργητον καὶ νεκρὸν· ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀκριβῆ φιλοσοφίαν δηλοῖ· ἐπεὶ οὖν τοῦ πνεύματος τοσαύτη ἡ ἰσχὺς, ἐκείνῳ ζῶμεν· διὸ ἐπάγει· εἰ ζῶμεν πνεύματι· πνεύματι καὶ

στοιχῶμεν. κατὰ τοὺς ἐκεῖνου νόμους πολιτευόμενοι· στοιχῶμεν· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀρκεσθῶμεν τούτῳ· καὶ μὴ ἐπιζητῶμεν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου προσθήκην·

ἄλλως· τίνες οἱ ταῦτα ποιοῦντες τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ σάρκα· τουτέστι τὸ οἰκεῖον σῶμα· σὰρξ γὰρ Χριστοῦ τὸ ἡμέτερον σῶμα, ἐσταύρωσαν· καὶ οἷον ἐνέκρωσαν ἀπὸ τῶν σωματικῶν παθῶν· καὶ οὐ μόνον τὸ σῶμα ὅσον ἦκεν εἰς τὸ ἐπιτελεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν. ἐσταύρωνται· κατὰ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν· ὁ δὲ παρέλκει· κατὰ ταύτην· ἢ οὕτως· καὶ τί λέγω ἐν καθ' ἐν ἀρετῆς εἶδος· εἰσὶ γὰρ τινες, οἱ καὶ ἐσταύρωσαν ἑαυτοὺς ὅσον πρὸς τὰ πάθη· καὶ τὰ πάθη ὅσον πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς· κατὰ ταύτην· ὁ δὲ οὐ παρέλκει· οἱ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὄντες, τὴν σάρκα ἐσταύρωσαν· νοητῶ θανάτῳ παραδεδώκασιν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀνέχεσθαι κατὰ σάρκα ζῆν· εἴτα δεικνὺς τοὺς ἐπεισάγοντας τὴν περιτομὴν· διὰ φιλοτιμίαν τοῦτο ποιοῦντας. φησὶ· μὴ γινώμεθα κενόδοξοι· ὁ πάντων αἴτιον τῶν κακῶν· ἀπὸ κενοδοξίας φθόνος· ἀπὸ φθόνου· πάντα τὰ κακὰ· ἀλλήλους προκαλοῦμενοι· οἷον εἰς ἔρις· εἰς φιλονεικίας·

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**1–6** ἵνα μὴ — προσθήκην] cf. *Typ. Par.* 85.3-9, (Chrys. *PG* 61.674.15-35)      **7–12** τίνες οἱ — σάρκα ἐσταύρωσαν      **13** νοητῶ — σάρκα ζῆν] not identified      **14–16** εἴτα — φιλονεικίας

<Gal. 6.1-2> **ἀδελφοί ἐὰν καὶ** (om. καὶ Γ) **προληφθῇ ἄνθρωπος ἐν τινι παραπτώματι· ὑμεῖς οἱ πνευματικοὶ καταρτίζετε τὸν τοιοῦτον ἐν πνεύματι πραότητος· σκοπῶν σεαυτὸν· μὴ καὶ σὺ πειρασθῆς· ἀλλήλων τὰ βάρη βαστάζετε, καὶ οὕτως ἀναπληρώσατε τὸν νόμον τοῦ Χριστοῦ·**

πολλοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς φιλαρχία ἡττημένοι· ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὰ ἁμαρτήματα τῶν πλησίον ἐπιτιμήσει· οἰκεῖον πάθος ἐπλήρουν· ὁ διορθοῦται· ἐὰν γὰρ τις φησὶ· οὐκ εἶπεν ἐὰν πράξῃ· ἀλλ' ἐὰν προληφθῇ· τουτέστιν ἐὰν συναρπαγῇ ἐπὶ ἁμαρτήματι· ὑμεῖς οἱ πνευματικῶς ζῶντες· διορθοῦτε τοῦτον· στηρίζετε· τὸ ἐλλεῖπον ἀναπληροῦτε· οὐκ εἶπεν μὴ κατὰδικάζητε· καὶ οὐκ ἔστι

μέχρι τούτου· ἀλλὰ δεικνὺς ὡς ἡμέρους αὐτοὺς εἶναι δεῖ· σφόδρα τοῖς ὑποσκελλιζομένοις· διδάσκει τὸν τρόπον τῆς θεραπείας· «ἐν πνεύματι πραότητος»· οὐκ εἶπεν ἐν πραότητι· ἀλλ' ἐν πνεύματι πραότητος· δεικνὺς ὅτι καὶ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦτο δοκεῖ· καὶ τοῦτο δύνασθαι διορθοῦσθαι μετὰ πραότητος· χάριτός ἐστι πνευματικῆς· εἶτα ἵνα μὴ διορθῶν ἐπαρθῇ, ἐμβάλλει καὶ αὐτῷ, φόβον οὕτως εἰπὼν· «σκοπὸν σεαυτὸν»· ἄνθρωπος εἴη φησι· τρεπτὴν ἔχεις τὴν φύσιν· συνάλγησον τῷ κακῶς διακειμένῳ· ἀλλὰ καὶ τήρει σαυτὸν· μὴ τοῖς ἴσοις ἀλῶς· καὶ ἀπολογεῖται ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἡμαρτηκότος· πρῶτον μὲν εἰπὼν ἐὰν καὶ προληφθῇ· δεύτερον ἄνθρωπος· τὸ τῆς πολλῆς ἀσθενείας ὄνομα· εἶτα μὴ καὶ σὺ πειραθῇς (πειραθεῖς ΒΓ)· καὶ δαίμονος ἐπήρειαν μάλλον· ἢ ψυχῆς ῥαθυμίαν αἰτιώμενος· εἶτα φησι· «ἀλλήλων τὰ βάρη βαστάζετε»· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπον χωρὶς ἁμαρτήματος εἶναι· παραινεῖ μὴ ἀκριβολογεῖσθε τὰ τοῦ πλησίον· ἀλλὰ καὶ φέρειν αὐτῶν τὰ ἐλαττώματα· ἵνα καὶ τὰ σὰ φέρεται παρ' ἐτέρων· χρὴ οὖν ἀλλήλοις συμπεριφέρεσθαι· σὺ φησι φέρε τὸ ἐκείνου· κανεῖνος τὸ σόν· οὕτω γὰρ πληροῦται τῆς ἀγάπης ὁ νόμος· νόμον Χριστοῦ· τὴν ἀγάπην ἐκάλεσεν· αὐτοῦ γάρ ἐστι φωνή· ἐντολὴν κενὴν δίδωμι ὑμῖν· ἵνα ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους·

ἄλλος (ἄλλως ΒΓ)· κοινωνῆσαί φησι αὐτῷ τοῦ φορτίου ὀφείλεις· τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται· ὅτ' ἀν δια παραινέσεως (φανερώσεως ΒΓ) καὶ χρηστότητος ἐπικουφίξης αὐτῷ τὴν ψυχὴν· ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἁμαρτήματος συνειδήσεως βεβαρυμένην·

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1–3 πολλοὶ ἐν — ἁμαρτήματι] cf. comm. 228      2–3 οὐκ εἶπεν — συναρπαγῇ] cf. Damasc. *PG* 95.816.14      3–4 ὑμεῖς — ἀναπληροῦτε] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.500.7-8      4–5 οὐκ εἶπεν — ὑποσκελλιζομένοις] cf. *Typ. Par.* 85.28-30, (cf. Chrys. *PG* 61.673.48)      6 διδάσκει — θεραπείας] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.500.8      6–9 οὐκ εἶπεν — σεαυτὸν] cf. *Typ. Par.* 85.32-86.3, (cf. Chrys. *PG* 61.673. 52-56)      9–10 ἄνθρωπος εἴη — διακειμένῳ] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.500.10      10 καὶ τήρει — ἀλῶς] cf. comm. 230      10–13 καὶ ἀπολογεῖται — αἰτιώμενος] cf. *Typ. Par.* 86.8–12, (cf. Chrys. *PG* 61.674.43-48)      13–15 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ — ἐτέρων] cf. *Typ. Par.* 86.14-18, (cf. Chrys. *PG* 61.674.49-54, comm. 231.1)      13–14 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ — πλησίον] cf. comm. 231.1      15–16 χρὴ — συμπεριφέρεσθαι] cf. comm. 231.2      16–18 σὺ φησι — ἀλλήλους] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.500.16      19–21 κοινωνῆσαί — βεβαρυμένην] cf. *Typ. Par.* 86.30 (Θεόδωρος, ἄλλος)

<Gal. 6.3-5> **Εἰ γὰρ δοκεῖ τις εἶναι τι μηδὲν ὄν. ἐαυτὸν φρεναπατιᾷ. τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἐαυτοῦ δοκιμαζέτω ἕκαστος· καὶ τότε εἰς ἐαυτὸν (αὐτὸν ΒΓ) μόνον τὸ καύχημα ἔξει καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὸν ἕτερον· ἕκαστος γὰρ τὸ ἴδιον φορτίον βαστάσει·**

Τῶν φουσωμένων ἐπὶ μικροῖς κατορθώμασι· καταστέλλει νῦν τὴν ὀφρὺν καὶ ἀπόνοιαν· ὁ γὰρ δοκῶν εἶναι τι· οὐδὲν ἐστὶ· πρῶτον· τῆς εὐτελείας αὐτοῦ δείγμα φέρων· τὴν τοιαύτην ὑπόνοιαν· δι' αὐτὸ μόνον φησὶν οὐδὲν ἐστὶ· διότι δοκεῖ εἶναι τι· μὴ δὲν οὖν ὄν· ἐαυτὸν φρεναπατάτω· ἀλλ' ἐξεταζέτω τὰ ἐαυτῷ βεβιωμένα· οὕτω γὰρ πρὸς τὰ βελτίω ἐαυτὸν μεταρρυθμίσει· οὐδεὶς μὲν γὰρ καυχᾶσθαι φησὶ· εἰ δ' ἄρα τοῦτο δεῖ· μὴ ὥς ὁ φαρισαῖος καυχῶ κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον· ἀλλὰ κατὰ σαυτοῦ· οἷον· εἰ ἀξιάγαστον ἔχοις βίον· σεμνύνου· τοῦτο δὲ· οὐ νομοθετῶν ἀλλὰ συγκαταβαίνων φησὶ· δεῖ οὖν ἐξεταστὰς ἡμᾶς εἶναι βίου οὐκ ἀλλοτρίου ἀλλὰ συγκαταβαίνων φησὶ· δεῖ οὖν ἐξεταστὰς ἡμᾶς εἶναι βίου οὐκ ἀλλοτρίου ἀλλὰ τοῦ οἰκείου· ἕκαστος γὰρ φησὶ περὶ τῶν οἰκείων ὑφέξει λόγον· διορθοῦται γὰρ τὸν καυχώμενον· ὥς μὴ δὲ αὐτὸν μέγα φρονεῖν· εἰς ἔννοιαν ἄγων τῶν ἰδίων ἁμαρτιῶν· καὶ συστέλλει τῷ φόβῳ· διὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων· τοῦ φορτίου καὶ τῆς ἀχθοφορίας· πιέζων αὐτοῦ τὸ συνειδός·

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**1** τῶν φουσωμένων — ὀφρὺν ] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.500.22    **1–3** ἀπόνοιαν — ὑπόνοιαν] cf. *Typ. Par.* 86.34    **3–4** δι' αὐτὸ φρεναπατάτω] cf. comm. 233    **4–6** ἐξεταζέτω — σαυτοῦ] cf. comm. 234    **6** εἰ ἀξιάγαστον — σεμνύνου] cf. comm. 234a (cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.500.22)    **6–11** οὐ νομοθετῶν — τὸ συνειδός] cf. *Typ. Par.* 87.21 (cf. Chrys. *PG* 61.675.51)    **10** ἕκαστος — ὑφέξει λόγον] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.500.32

<Gal. 6.6-8> **Κοινωνεῖτω (κοινωνήτω Γ) δὲ ὁ κατηχούμενος τὸν λόγον· τῷ κατηχούντι**

(κατηχοῦν B) ἐν πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς μὴ πλανᾶσθε· Θεὸς οὐ μυκτηρίζεται· ὁ γὰρ ἐὰν σπείρῃ ἄνθρωπος· τοῦτο καὶ θερίσει· ὅτι ὁ σπείρων εἰς τὴν σάρκα αὐτοῦ. (ἐαυτοῦ NA28 et alii) ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς θερίσει φθοράν· ὁ δὲ σπείρων εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος θερίσει ζωὴν αἰώνιον·

Ἐνταῦθα περὶ τῶν διδασκάλων αὐτῶ ὁ λόγος· ὥστε πολλῆς ἀπολαύειν παρὰ τῶν μαθητῶν θεραπείας· διὸ καὶ κοινωνίαν τὸ πρᾶγμα καλεῖ· οὐ μετάδοσιν· κελεύων τῶν πνευματικῶν μεταλαμβάνοντας· μεταδίδοναι τῶν σαρκικῶν· τροφάς· εὐνοίαν· τιμὴν· καὶ τίνος ἕνεκεν οὕτως ἐνομοθέτησεν ὁ Χριστὸς· τοὺς καταγγέλοντας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐκ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ζῆν· ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ· πολλὰ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἦσαν αἱ πρόσοδοι· ἢ ταπεινοφροσύνης καὶ ἀγάπης ὑπόθεσιν προαποτιθέμενος· ἐπεὶ γὰρ φυσᾷ πολλάκις τὸ διδασκαλικὸν ἀξίωμα τοὺς ἔχοντας· καταστέλλων αὐτὸ· εἰς ἀνάγκην κατέστησε τοῦ δεῖσθαι τῶν μαθητῶν· κάκεῖνους εὐκολωτέρους εὐποιῖαν ποιῶν· ὅπερ καὶ ἀγάπην ἐνείργαζετο· μὴ νομίσητε δὲ φησὶ λανθάνειν τὰ γινόμενα ἐφορᾷ γὰρ τὰ πάντα ὁ τῶν ὅλων θεός· καὶ οὐ μυκτηρίζεται· ἤτοι οὐκ ἀπατᾶται τῷ ἀγαθῷ· κακὰ ἢ πάλιν τῷ κακῷ· ἀγαθὰ δίδοναι· ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη κατάλληλον τῷ σπέρματι τὸ θέρος εἶναι· ὥς οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν σπερμάτων δεῖ αὐτοῦ γένους εἶναι τὸν σπόρον καὶ τὸν ἀμητὸν· οὕτω κἂν τοῖς ἔργοις· ὁ καταβάλλων εἰς τὴν σάρκαν· τρυφὴν· μέθην· ἡδονὴν· τὸ ἐκ ταύτης ἀμήσει· τίς κόλασιν καὶ τιμωρίαν· αἰσχύνην γέλωτα· φθοράν· τρυφῆς γὰρ τέλος· φθορά· τὰ δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀπεναντίας· τρυγήσει γὰρ ζωὴν· ἀντὶ σωφροσύνης· ἀντὶ ἐλεημοσύνης·

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**1–2** ἐνταῦθα — θεραπείας] cf. *Typ. Par.* 87.32 (Chrys. *PG* 61.676.1, Damasc. *PG* 95.817.19)    **2–3** καὶ κοινωνίαν — τιμὴν] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.500.37-39 (cf. comm. 236 + comm. 236a)    **2–3** οὐ μετάδοσιν — σαρκικῶν] cf. comm. 236 (cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.500.37-39)    **3** τροφάς — τιμὴν] cf. comm. 236a  
**3–8** καὶ τίνος — ἐνείργαζετο] cf. *Typ. Par.* 87.32 (cf. Chrys. *PG* 61.676.1)    **8–10** μὴ νομίσητε — θέρος εἶναι] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.500.42-45    **10–13** ὥς οὖν — ἀπεναντίας] cf. *Typ. Par.* 88.29 (Chrys. *PG* 61.676.64)    **14** τρυγήσει γὰρ ζωὴν] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.501.3    **14** ἀντὶ σωφροσύνης· ἀντὶ ἐλεημοσύνης] cf. comm. 238

<Gal. 6.9-10> τὸ δὲ καλὸν ποιοῦντες μὴ ἐκκακῶμεν· καιρῷ γὰρ ἰδίῳ θερίσομεν μὴ ἐκλυόμενοι· ἄρα οὖν ὡς καιρὸν ἔχομεν· ἐργαζόμεθα τὸ ἀγαθὸν πρὸς πάντας· μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους τῆς πίστεως·

Ἵνα μὴ νομίση τίς αὐτὸν τῶν διδασκάλων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀμελεῖν, εἰς κοινὸν ἐξάγει τὸν λόγον· μὴ ἀπείπωμεν φησὶ μὴ δὲ ἐκλυθῶμεν· ἔσται γὰρ καιρὸς ὅτε ἀποληψόμεθα τὰ καλὰ· καὶ θερίσομεν τὰ χρηστὰ· εἴτα ἐπειδὴ θερισμοῦ ἐμνημόνευσεν· ὃς ἔχει κόπον καὶ κάματον, προσέθηκε μὴ ἐκλυόμενοι· ὡσεὶ ἔλεγεν· ὁ θερίζων τότε, οὐ κάμνει οὐδὲ ἐκλύεται ὡς ἐν τῷδε τῷ κόσμῳ· μηδὲν οὖν τῶν ἀνιαρῶν ἐπικοπτέτω τὴν περὶ τὰ καλὰ προθυμίαν· πόνου γὰρ δίχα θερίσομεν· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ μὴ ἐκλυόμενοι· κόπου γὰρ καὶ ἰδρωτός· τὸ ἐκεῖ θέρος ἐλεύθερον· σημειωτέον δὲ ὅτι πρὸς πάντας μὲν κελεύει τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην ποιεῖν· διαφερόντως δὲ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους τῆς πίστεως ἦτοι τοὺς ὁμοπίστους· κατεπείγει δὲ καὶ συνωθεῖ πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ ἐτέρωθεν λέγων· ὡς καιρὸν ἔχομεν· ἐργαζόμεθα τὸ ἀγαθὸν· ὡς γὰρ οὐκ ἀεὶ σπείρειν ἔστιν, οὐδὲ ἐλεεῖν· ἐν τῇ ζωῇ γὰρ ταύτῃ ὁ καιρὸς τῆς ἐργασίας· ἐκεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἔτι·

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1–2 Ἵνα μὴ — λόγον] not identified  
ἰδρωτός] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.501.6

2–5 μὴ ἀπείπωμεν — κόσμῳ] cf. comm. 241  
6–10 τὸ ἐκεῖ — οὐκ ἔτι] cf. *Typ. Par.* 89.20-32

5–6 μηδὲν —

<Gal. 6.11-13> Ἴδετε πηλίκους ἡμῖν (ἡμῖν ABΓ] ὑμῖν NA28 Antoniadēs et alii) γράμμασιν ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρί· ὅσοι θέλουσιν εὐπροσωπῆσαι ἐν σαρκί· οὗτοι ἀναγκάζουσιν ὑμᾶς περιτέμνεσθαι· μόνον· Ἵνα μὴ τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διώκωνται· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ περιτετμημένοι (περιτετμημένοι Γ] περὶτετμημένοι AB) αὐτοὶ νόμον φυλάσσουσιν· ἀλλὰ



**θέλουσιν ὑμᾶς περιτέμεσθαι· ἵνα ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ σαρκὶ καυχῶνται·**

Πᾶσαν ὡς ἔοικε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν αὐτὸς ἔγραψε· τὸ δὲ πηλίκους οὐ μεγέθους, οὐ μεγέθους ἔστι δηλωτικὸν· ἀλλ' ἀμορφίας τῶν γραμμάτων· ὥσει ἔλεγε· καὶ μὴ εἰδὼς γράφειν εἰς κάλλος· ἤναγκάσαι γράψαι ἰδιοχείρως τὴν ἐπιστολὴν· Διὰ τὸ κεῖσθαι μου τὸ ἰδιόχειρον· ὅτι οὐ κηρύσσω περιτομὴν, ὡς οἱ ἐνδιαβάλλοντες λέγουσιν· εἴτα πάλιν ἐπανερχεται εἰς ἃ μάλιστα ἐδάκνυτο αὐτοῦ ἡ ψυχὴ, καὶ δείκνυσιν οὐχ ἐκόντας αὐτοὺς τοῦτο ὑπομένοντας, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαζομένους· ὥστε ἔχειν ἀναχωρήσεως ἀφορμὴν· ὅσοι θέλουσιν εὐπροσωπῆσαι ἐν σαρκί, ὅσον παρ' ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκιμεῖν· ποίοις; τοῖς ἰουδαίοις· καὶ τὴ ἐκεῖθεν δόξαν θηρᾶσθαι· καὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἀσφαλείας προμηθοῦνται· οὗτοι τὴν ἀνασκαπτικὴν ὑμῖν τῆς περιτομῆς διδασκαλίαν προσφέρουσιν· ἵνα μὴ παραπλησίως ἡμῖν τὸν Χριστὸν κηρύττοντες αἰκίζονται· ἢ θέλουσιν ἔχειν καὶ ἑτέρους περιτεμνομένους· ἵνα μὴ διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ τῆς πίστεως ἐλαύνωνται· εἴτα διὰ τοῦ εἰπεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ περιτεμνόμενοι· δείκνυσι κατὰ κενοδοξίαν τὸ πᾶν αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ὡς νόμον φησι τηροῦντες τοῦτοο ποιοῦσιν· ἀλλ' ἵνα ἔχωσι τοῦ καυχᾶσθαι ἀφορμὴν· τὸ ὑμᾶς περιτέμνειν, τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ σαρκί· ἵνα φησι ὧσι διδάσκαλοι· καὶ μαθητὰς ὑμᾶς ἔχωσιν αὐχεῖν ἐθέλοντες ὡς μεταθέντες ὑμᾶς·

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**1** πᾶσαν — ἔγραψε] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.501.24-25    **1-4** τὸ δὲ πηλίκους — λέγουσιν] cf. comm. 244  
**1-3** τὸ δὲ — ἐπιστολὴν] cf. *Typ. Par.* 90.14-18 (cf. Chrys. *PG* 61.678.19-23)    **3-4** διὰ τὸ — λέγουσι] cf. Damasc. *PG* 95.817.47-49    **4-5** εἴτα πάλιν — ψυχὴ] cf. *Typ. Par.* 90.6-7    **5-7** δείκνυσιν — Ἰουδαίοις] cf. *Typ. Par.* 90.27-30 (cf. Chrys. *PG* 61.676.30-35)    **7-9** τὴ ἐκεῖθεν — αἰκίζονται] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.501.32    **9-10** θέλουσιν — ἐλαύνωνται] cf. comm. 246    **10-13** δείκνυσι — ἔχωσιν] cf. comm. 247    **13-14** αὐχεῖν — ὑμᾶς] not identified

<Gal. 6.14-16> *Ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ γένοιτο καυχᾶσθαι, εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· δι' οὗ ἔμοι κόσμος ἐσταύρωται, καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὔτε*

*περιτομή τι ισχύει· οὔτε ἀκροβυστία· ἀλλὰ καινὴ κτίσις· καὶ ὅσοι τῷ κανόνι τούτῳ  
στοιχήσουσιν· εἰρήνη ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔλεος καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ·*

Ὡσπερ τι τῶν ἀτόπων ἀπηύξατο· καὶ μὴν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπονείδιστον ἦν ὁ σταυρὸς, ἀλλὰ  
παρὰ τοῖς ἀπίστοις· καὶ ἡ πενία γὰρ ἐπονείδιστον, ἀλλ’ ἡμῖν καύχημα· καὶ τί ἐστὶ τὸ καύχημα τοῦ  
σταυροῦ· ὅτι δι’ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀναξίους, κατεδέξατο σταυρωθῆναι· τοὺς ἀγνώμονας· ἐν μόνῳ οὖν τῷ  
σωτηρίῳ σταυρῷ εἶη μοι τὸ καυχᾶσθαι καὶ μέγα φρονεῖν· δι’ οὗ περιττὸς ἐμοὶ ὁ βίος, καὶ νεκρὸς  
αὐτῷ ἐγὼ· κόσμον δὲ τὰ βιωτικά πράγματα φησι· τὴν δόξαν· τὸν παρ’ ἀνθρώπων ἔπαινον· ὅσον  
οὖν παρ’ ἐμοὶ, ταῦτα νεκρά ἐστίν· εἴτα καὶ ἐπίτασις· κἀγὼ τούτοις· τῇ διπλῇ νεκρότητι· τὸ  
φευκτὸν αὐτῶν δηλῶν καὶ ἀνεέργητον· τοιοῦτον εἶναι δεῖ τὸν χριστιανὸν· τί γὰρ τῆς νεκρώσεως  
ταύτης μακαριώτερον· ἢ μὴδὲν ισχύει· ἀλλὰ τὰ καινὰ ζητεῖ τῆς χάριτος πράγματα· πάντα γὰρ ἐν  
Χριστῷ καινὴ κτίσις ἐστίν· οἱ τε γὰρ ἐμπερίτομοι καὶ ἀκρόβυστοι πιστεύσαντες, καινὴ κτίσις  
γεγόνاسιν· τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἀνθρώπου ταφέντος καὶ ἡμῶν διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἀναγεννηθέντων· καὶ  
ὅσοι φησὶ τῷ κανόνι τούτῳ· ἦτοι τῇ διδαχῇ ἀρκεσθῶσι· κανόνα γὰρ τὴν διδασκαλίαν ἐκάλεσεν·  
ὡς εὐθύτητι κοσμουμένην· καὶ μήτε ἐλλεῖπον τι μήτε περιττόν ἔχουσιν· ἢ ὅσοι μήτε ἰουδαῖζουσι·  
μήτε ἐλληνίζουσιν ὡς καινὴ κτίσις· εἰρήνη ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔλεος· εἰρήνη· εἰς συνάφειαν τὴν πρὸς  
θεὸν· ἔλεος, εἰς συγχώρησιν ἁμαρτημάτων· ἰσραὴλ δὲ τοὺς πιστοὺς ὠνόμασεν ὡς ὀρῶντας θεόν·  
τοῦτο γὰρ δηλοῖ τὸ ὄνομα·

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**1–3** ὥσπερ — ἀγνώμονας] cf. *Typ. Par.* 91.21-31 (Chrys. *PG* 61.678.59-70) **3** ὅτι δι’ ἡμᾶς — ἀγνώμονας]  
cf. comm. 248 **3–5** ἐν μόνῳ — ἐγὼ] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.501.51 **5–8** κόσμον — μακαριώτερον]  
cf. *Typ. Par.* 92.2-10 (cf. Chrys. *PG* 61.679.19-27, Damasc. *PG* 95.820. 33-36) **5–7** κόσμον —  
ἀνεέργητον] cf. comm. 249 **8** ἀλλὰ τὰ — πράγματα] cf. *Typ. Par.* 92.29-30 **8–10** πάντα γὰρ —  
ἀναγεννηθέντων] cf. Oecumenius *Fr. Gal.* 448.2 **11** ὅσοι φησὶ — ἀρκεσθῶσι] cf. comm. 251 **11–12**  
κανόνα γὰρ — ἔχουσιν] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.504.20 **12–14** ὅσοι μήτε — ἁμαρτημάτων] cf. *Typ. Par.*  
93.14-17 (cf. Eusebius *Fr. Gal.* 52.10) **14–15** Ἰσραὴλ — ὄνομα] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.504.24, (comm.  
252)

<Gal. 6.17> *Τοῦ λοιποῦ κόπους μοι μηδεὶς παρεχέτω· ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματί μου βαστάζω·*

Τοῦτο οὐχ ὡς καμῶν ἢ περικακίσας λέγει· ἀλλὰ βουλόμενος τοὺς τεθέντας παρ' αὐτοῦ νόμους ἀκινήτους εἶναι· ὡς οὐκ ἔτι μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ τί προσθεῖναι ἢ ἀφελεῖν· ἢ εἰς μνήμην ἐλθόντων ὑπέστη καταγγέλλων αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον· οἷόν τινα μαρτυρίαν ταύτην ἔρρηξε τὴν φωνήν· οὐκ ἔτι φησὶ γράψαι πάλιν ἀνέξομαι· ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ γράψαι· τὰς μώλωπας δείκνυμι καὶ τῶν αἰκισμῶν τὰ σημεῖα· ταῦτα μαρτυρεῖτω τῇ τοῦ κηρύγματος ἀληθείᾳ· ὑπὲρ ἐκείνης γὰρ ταῦτα ἔπαθον· ὥσει ἔλεγε· μηδεὶς με διαβαλλέτω· αὐτὰ γὰρ τὰ στίγματα ἦτοι αἱ πληγαὶ αἱ διὰ κύριον· ἀνυποκρίτως με πολιτεύεσθαι μαρτυροῦσι· καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν ἔχω· ἀλλὰ βαστάζω· ἐγκαυχώμενος καὶ ἀγαλλόμενος ὡς οἱ σημειοφόροι τῷ τραύματι περιφέρειν· ἀπολογοῦμαι φησὶν πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας ὑποκρίνεσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἀρέσκειαν κηρύττειν· καὶ πάσης φωνῆς λαμπρότερον βοῶ διὰ τῶν στιγμάτων· οὐδὲ γάρ τις στρατιώτην ἰδὼν ἐκ παρατάξεως ἡμαγμένον, δειλίας ἂν κρίνῃ καὶ προδοσίας ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος ἔχοντα τὴν ἀπόδειξιν·

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1–2 τοῦτο — ἀφελεῖν] not identified      2–6 εἰς μνήμην — ἔπαθον] cf. Theodoret PG 82.504.31      6–7 ὥσει — μαρτυροῦσι] cf. comm. 255      6 τὰ στίγματα — Κύριον] cf. comm. 254      7–11 καὶ οὐκ — ἀπόδειξιν] cf. Typ. Par. 94.6-14

<Gal. 6.18> *Ἡ χάρις τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ὑμῶν· ἀδελφοί, ἀμήν·*

Οὐκ εἶπεν ἀπλῶς μεθ' ὑμῶν· ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ὑμῶν· σὺν τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ καὶ τῇ  
ψυχῇ, τὴν χάριν ἐπευχόμενος, καὶ τῆς δοθείσης ἀναμνησκων δωρεᾶς· ἦν οὐ διὰ νόμου, ἀλλὰ διὰ  
πίστεως ἔλαβον· καὶ εὐχῇ τὴν παραΐνεσιν. ὥσπερ τινι σφραγίδι κατέκλεισεν·

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**1** οὐκ εἶπεν — ὑμῶν] cf. cf. *Typ. Par.* 94.20 (cf. Chrys. *PG* 61.680.49)      **1–2** σὺν τῷ — ἐπευχόμενος]  
cf. comm. 256      **2–3** τῆς δοθείσης — ἔλαβον] cf. Theodoret *PG* 82.504.41 **3** καὶ εὐχῇ — κατέκλεισεν]  
cf. *Typ. Par.* 94.31 (cf. Chrys. *PG* 61.680.57)